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ABSTRACT

This document presents a descriptive comparison of public education in Amsterdam, London, New York, Tel Aviv, Tokyo, and Toronto. These cities are alike in that in each population, money, power, and influence are concentrated. In all these cities a common educational problem has been to deal with the disproportionate number of the poor, recent immigrants, or otherwise marginal students that make up their school populations. Though the compensatory approach dominates the efforts of large city school systems to improve the lot of their deprived and marginal students, policies and practices toward cultural minorities remain problematic. Data collected for this survey indicate that urban school problems are widespread and similar across the developed nations of the world and that there are no quick solutions to the problems. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOLING IN BIG CITIES:

A COMPARATIVE, INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Men come together in cities for security; they stay together for the good life.

Aristotle

Hell is a city much like London --
A populous and smoky city.

Shelley

A great city is that which has the greatest men and women.

Whitman

Men make the city, and not walls.

Thucydides

Introduction

There is no simple way to describe a large city. Its origins are often obscure and its prospects uncertain. For many observers, cities represent an ancient but persistent ideal of civilized living, urbanitas; for others, it is Mammon, signifying the meanest features of human society. In the United States, writers and intellectuals have long contrasted big cities with the simpler and greater virtues of small town and rural living. But in many other parts of the world, large centers of population have often been regarded as places where Man could achieve his greatest heights and society reach a superior form. Most large cities around the world are balanced between these two poles, great centers of human activity suffering the strains of earlier growth, their people and governments striving sometimes desperately to meet the needs of their crowded, variegated, and dynamic populations and to arrest the spread of those cancers they call urban deterioration.

Large cities serve many purposes, perform numerous functions, encompass complex processes. In appearance and atmosphere, they differ from one another as much as the grand boulevards of Paris contrast with the skyscraper-bound avenues of New York. The respective histories of Japan and Britain will always keep London different from Tokyo. Geography and culture ensure the uniqueness of each of the world's greatest cities. Nevertheless in certain fundamental respects they are all the same. Whether viewed through the eyes of the observant traveler or the social scientist, the similarities are evident: social and economic characteristics, physical conditions, comparable problems and effects, similar processes and, above all, the common difficulties that metropolitan governments face in ensuring the physical and social conditions necessary for human existence.

This paper is concerned with one fundamental service that all societies seek to provide for their citizens in modern urban communities: schooling. This is not to suggest that schools are more important than housing, employment, opportunities for recreation, transportation, or civic order. Nor is it suggested that schools are the only instruments of providing the training, knowledge, and attitudes necessary for survival, participation, or contributing in modern society. Quite the contrary, for schools are but one means of educating. They cannot be separated from a host of social institutions serving other functions, but all in part educational in their concern with human

behavior, attitudes, and knowledge. But the main purpose here is to look at schooling in one of its natural social settings, the large city in the modern world. Personal and impressionistic observation will be combined with systematic, quantified data to provide some basis for a "natural history" view of urban schooling.[1]

That such a view is long overdue is apparent from the accelerating pace of urbanization the world over. The United States contained 12 metropolitan areas of over 1 million people each in 1940; in 1970, there were 29 such areas, and conservative projections are that there may be 44 such areas by the year 2000. Most of the citizens of the United States already live in its cities, two-thirds may be expected to live in the projected metropolitan areas in about twenty years. Similar trends may be observed in the rest of the world: after nearly two centuries of industrialization and urbanization, the majority of people in developed nations live in or near large population centers. In the currently developing nations, the rate of large-city growth is great, notwithstanding efforts to contain it. In many instances, urban growth has been superceded by the development of immense population agglomerations for which even the term metropolis may be inadequate.[2] It is sufficient for our purposes, however, merely to state that growing up and living in a large population center is the common experience of the majority in industrialized nations, and that it is becoming increasingly common elsewhere in the world. Moreover, for a growing proportion this takes place in and around densely populated, expanding metropolitan regions.[3] These contain similar features and complexities wherever they are found, giving rise to similar educational developments and problems.

THE NATURE OF LARGE CITIES

The first impact of a large city is an assault upon the senses. Smells of people, exhaust fumes, smoking chimneys, and the kitchens of restaurants from many countries; sounds of vehicles, voices, machines, jackhammers tearing at streets, excavating for the foundations of new edifices; sights of giant buildings, crowded streets, and shopwindows. Everywhere there is variety and movement, colors, shapes, physiognomies, and behaviors that might be remarkable in smaller, quieter communities, but pass without comment, often without notice, in the constant, dynamic life of great cities.

This kaleidoscopic impression represents much of the essence of large-scale cities. It is in their nature to be congested, busy, and heterogeneous. Like magnets, they attract people from other parts of their own country and from abroad. Individual motives may differ, but the attractions range from escape from the social or political constraints of the home community to the wealth of possibilities in the city: choices in work, educational and cultural opportunity, life-style. The attractions account for the variety of races, religions, skills, and behaviors, some of which could not be tolerated elsewhere.

Great cities are major centers of wealth and of political power. They are the sites of national and international authorities where government agencies gather together with other large institutions whose business is with government on a national or worldwide basis--professional organizations, unions, major industrial and communications concerns. They are the leading banking and financial centers of their nations, the major ports of entry and departure for both people and goods, possessing major harbors and great international airports.

The educational implications of large city culture are complex and profound. For example, its economic and other activities require a great number of specialized skills. But this is no novel phenomenon. Great cities have long been the centers where professional talents of all kinds were concentrated. Each developed its legal community, gathered around major law courts, its medical centers, its specialized trades serving narrow and often elite interests (diamonds, furs, high fashion clothing). Systems developed to select and train personnel for these activities, to store up knowledge in these areas, and to advance it through study and experimentation. Thus great cities commonly contain great universities and professional schools, and a host of specialized research and teaching institutions in the arts, the sciences, and technology. It is here that the great museums and libraries may be found and where information is gathered and distributed through newspapers and publishing houses and through radio and television.

All of these activities also represent great wealth, for they generate money and require vast sums to maintain them. It is in the cities that large numbers of the very rich may be found. But the city must not only provide luxury items for the wealthy; through vast department stores and a host of specialized shops catering to particular needs, it contains an enormous retail trade providing employment to a large sector of relatively unskilled workers, as well as the highly skilled and specialized. Manufacturing activities have tended to move out of the centers of great cities in search of greater and cheaper space, but their head offices and the major outlets for their distribution still tend to remain. Tourism and entertainment are among the additional economic activities that concentrate in great cities and contribute to their wealth and influence.

If industry tends to move out of great cities, service activities are more than enough to fill the gap. A characteristic feature of large-city economies is the great number of specialized skills that are required to serve a particular enterprise. A good example is that of advertising which depends upon a large set of widely differing skills and talents: writers, artists, accountants, salespersons, marketing analysts, public relations personnel, experts in the use of mass media. These must be available in large numbers and accessible to one another and, like the judges, lawyers, clerks, bailiffs, and runners of the medieval law communities of major cities, they huddle together in their own districts within the commercial centers of great contemporary cities.

If the great cities contain a disproportionate share of the wealthy, they also contain vast numbers of moderately well-off workers and large communities of the poor. Traditional ports of entry for foreign immigrants, they also attract people from rural areas and small towns, many of them unschooled and unskilled, hoping to escape poverty or oppression in the vast, thriving city. Settling in areas of older housing in the densely populated urban center, they form pockets of transiency and of marginal people seeking entry into a better life. Characteristically, those who achieve some modicum of success move on to better living conditions elsewhere away from the city center, most usually at the urban periphery. The process of outward mobility and suburban sprawl is a familiar one, accounting for the continued growth and vibrancy of large cities. Villages, small towns, and rural areas become engulfed by metropolitan expansion.

The city is shared by newcomers and old residents, poor, moderately well-off, and wealthy. They walk the same streets and occupy the same living space. Thrown together in close proximity, the contrasts between affluent and needy, native and foreign, settled and transient, are all often dramatic. But many in the middle ranges of wealth settle in newer communities where the space and housing they seek are available. Many of the wealthy prefer to remain and are able to erect barriers between themselves and the poor, living in protected enclaves in the city. But those without the means often have no alternative but to remain in the traditional receiving areas of the city, in run-down, neglected, older portions of the town center. Enclaves of society's excluded, unsuccessful, marginal subgroups are among the commoner phenomena of metropolitan society.

Heterogeneity and specialization, movement and contrast are the most striking characteristics of large-city society. They account for some of its special features: the differences and the tensions between the central city and its environs, the tendency in many parts of the urban region toward homogeneous enclaves, communities that are alike in wealth, or religion, or ethnic background, or recency of arrival in the city. They give rise to one of the greatest problems in urban living, traffic congestion, as thousands--even millions--must find their way each day from the outskirts where they live to the places where they work. The presence of so many people in one region generates a host of problems with physical space--environmental pollution, noise, scarcity of land, and its attendant problems of high cost and shortage of housing. But the density of population is also associated with a number of features that, according to many observers, form a pathological component in the lives of urban-dwellers.

The pace of city life is faster than that of small towns--by 2.8 feet per second, according to one study.[4] Excessive crowding causes abnormal behavior in rats. And high rates of crime, aggressive behavior, abnormal withdrawal, and mental disorder are held to be direct results of the nature of city living for human beings. While this paper is not the place to enter into the validity of this argument, it is clear that the living conditions of large cities do breed particular modes of thought and attitudes. The long-standing controversy over precisely

how population size and density affect human behavior will no doubt persist, but Wirth's general views on the subject appear as true as when they were formulated forty years ago:

> Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. They are, to be sure, dependent upon more people for the satisfactions of their life-needs than are rural people and thus they are associated with a greater number of organized groups, but they are less dependent upon particular persons, and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the other's round of activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. . . . The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others.
>
> The superficiality, the anonymity, and the transitory character of urban social relations make intelligible, also, the sophistication and the rationality generally ascribed to city-dwellers. Our acquaintances tend to stand in a relationship of utility to us. . . . Whereas the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. This constitutes essentially the state of anomie, or the social void, to which Durkheim alludes in attempting to account for the various forms of social disorganization in technological society.[5]

Freedom but alienation, infinite choice but reduced guidance and support from social institutions, complex and sophisticated systems but impersonal, even dehumanizing services: all these are the dominant features of social life in large cities. As the size of the community grows, the individual is often diminished, becoming less influential, less responsible, even less efficient, while social problems increase. No wonder then that the difficulties of maintaining adequate levels of civic order, public health, and the general conditions of good living loom so large. The scale of large cities ensures that they will be plagued with problems of governance.

The size and rates of growth of large cities create special difficulties for planning and executing the policies essential to their survival. As the population grows, it spills over existing administrative boundaries so that the actual functioning economic, social, and geographical units bear little relationship to the former units of local government. The scope and powers of the original city

fathers are inadequate to deal with the new conditions so that government may become balkanized and ineffectual unless radical reorganization is quickly introduced. But, even if it were possible, it is not enough simply to enlarge government to metropolitan or regional dimensions. It is already sufficiently removed from the people and the communities that comprise the city, and enlargement can only increase the distance: less participation by those concerned in the necessary decisions, greater bureaucratization, more depersonalization. Meanwhile people move constantly, sometimes rapidly depleting the city's revenues as they transfer to suburban areas, yet never decreasing the demand for services.

Of all the essential services, public education is especially important, not simply as a means of supplying personnel for the urban economy, but as a major ingredient in the general quality of urban life. A good school system helps to retain in the city, and even to attract to it, a substantial number of the young and of families with growing children. It ensures a certain degree of population stability. It provides employment for a large cadre of well-educated workers who support the economy as consumers of the good things in life. And it is a primary means of inducting the children of the city's marginal populations into its life: immigrants from abroad, migrants from other parts of the nation, the economically or culturally excluded. But the large cities of the world have common difficulties with ensuring adequate schooling for all their young. The underlying concern of this paper is with this theme: how urban circumstances give rise to comparable problems of school policy and practice the world over, how local conditions may modify the process, how school systems seek to deal with the problems.

Several reasons underlie this attempt to assemble urban social science perspectives, educational policy issues, and pedagogical problems, and to study them on an international scale. The extent of growing urbanization has already been noted, so that it seems hardly necessary to reiterate that the experience of growing up in and around large cities is increasingly the common experience of the young in all industrial nations. Similarly, though it is a relatively new development in human history, and far from achieved in many regions of the world, the experience of going to school for anywhere from eight to twelve years or more is common to growing numbers of the young. But it may be less obvious that part of the common experience of urbanized societies is the problem of providing satisfactory schooling in large cities. There are still those who discuss school decentralization (or centralization) in one city without reference to others that have had experience of it; politicians, educators, and other well-intentioned observers consider the urban poor, or immigrants, or ethnic minorities, as if their newly discovered ghettos had not been there for decades (even centuries) and had never existed elsewhere; and city schoolteachers struggle daily with alientated youngsters, poor performance, and the disparities among their students as if the problem of maximizing school achievement were new. To talk about such issues without reference to social and cultural context is naive; to ignore the range of examples that exist in world society is parochial.

Though this paper is international in scope, there are several limitations imposed by reason of space, choice, and the resources of the author. The cities in this survey are alike in several important respects. Each is large, comprising one of the biggest population concentrations in its country. Each is also a premier city of its nation by virtue of the concentration of money, power, and influence. More important still, by virtue of these characteristics and, in addition, their location, history, and function as world marketplaces, they are all world cities -- cosmopolitan, marked by international activity and influence.

The cases selected for review are alike, too, in the ways they function. Like centrifuges, they cast people out to the periphery in the search for more living space while drawing others into the center, constantly replenishing their supply of energy, ingenuity and industriousness, imagination and creativity. In the process, they disseminate skills, ideas, tastes, knowledge, and values, not only to the adjacent suburbs, nor even to other regions within their own nations. They perform these functions for the whole world, exporting and importing people with the highest human abilities in a marketplace function that transcends geographical boundaries. In the process, they have to deal with some population segments that demand special attention, and all face special problems with their substantial numbers of the poor, the undereducated, the newly arrived, the culturally different, and others who may have been excluded in the past from full participation in society.[6]

Finally, an important caveat must be entered regarding the data presented. Personal observations and interviews were conducted during the early 1970s by the author in several of the cities described in connection with earlier reports. Much of the information cited is, however, secondary in nature, that is, culled from already published (and unpublished) printed sources. This has been extended and updated to the most recent material available. However, quantitative material was rarely available for the same years on the same items, strict comparability on particular dimensions is rarely possible, and observation tends to be more of trends and of perceived associations among variables based on impressions rather than quantitative analysis. Furthermore, notwithstanding the author's effort to scrutinize a wide range of different types of material including daily and periodical press, professional publications, local and national governmental sources, and to check their contents, there are inevitable limits. Local school events, for example, rarely reach the columns of national papers except when there is a crisis; systematic study of school matters may not appear in the journals until a couple of years have passed; certain local and central government statistics are commonly three years old, or more. Despite all efforts, the degree of accuracy and recency depends on the sources cited, and the extent of comprehensiveness depends on the materials available, especially those from abroad.

CITY PROFILES

Amsterdam

While the Hague is the seat of the nation's government, and Rotterdam forms the hub of a larger population concentration containing important commercial and industrial activity, Amsterdam is the capital and premier city of the Netherlands. Its population and land area are small compared to other world cities, yet by all relevant criteria it is a cosmopolitan metropolis demonstrating characteristic big-city patterns.

As a treasure-house of culture and education, Amsterdam attracts large numbers of people from home and abroad. Its mobile population is engaged in diverse economic activities. It abounds with visual contrasts, from the old public buildings and formerly private grand residences in the center of the city to its blocks of modern apartment houses in the outlying areas. The narrow streets lining the canals at its heart are inadequate to handle traffic of a busy city; yet here and there, modern office blocks rise up to testify to a thriving business community. Some twenty years ago, the central district was deteriorating rapidly. Rat-infested, delapidated buildings in the poorer areas were among the signs of severe urban blight, but the handsome medieval homes of the wealthy were also neglected. Middle and upper-class residents fled the city in search of better housing and living conditions leaving the central city to the very poor.

City planning has had to deal with improving the physical condition of the old city, both to restore the historic sections of fine old buildings, some still residential but many turned into expensive professional offices and business headquarters, and to rebuild the decayed sections occupied largely by the poor and the aged. Planners were also faced with the need to refurbish the central areas so that they could better serve a range of international and national economic activities (banking, commerce, entertainment) and tourism. Traffic congestion and a shortage of housing were especially acute. One of the outcomes has been a substantial growth of new housing on the fringes of the city where modern apartment blocks house working and middle class communities.

As a result of municipal and national efforts over two decades, the physical deterioration of the central city has been arrested, and an influx has taken place of middle-class residents. However, while the urban agglomeration has grown (a little under 1 million people reside in the urban area), the population of the city proper continues to decline, as the following figures demonstrate:[7]

	Total Population of Amsterdam
1970	825,935
1971	814,074
1972	799,756
1975	754,557

More important than the figures of city growth or decline, however, is the social character of population migration. Whereas Amsterdam demonstrated (and continues to show) the usual phenomenon of middle-class migration away from the central and older parts of the city, observers note the more recent influx of middle-class persons returning to the refurbished dwellings and improved conditions of urban life. The overall decline in the city's population in recent years is due in large measure to the growing number of departures among its working-class population. Several factors account for these contradictory trends: in the process of urban development, the most decayed sections were also the least historical and the most difficult to restore, so that extensive demolition and rebuilding were necessary. Their residents, the poor and the elderly, were often uprooted, and many moved to new, low-income housing that was made available in the outer portions of the city. At the same time, policies calculated to bring residents back to the city tended to make living increasingly expensive for the poor. Since 1975, local policy continued its attempts to halt the population decline of Amsterdam, but it now seeks also to achieve a more balanced population structure, in age, family size, and income. The city was becoming more and more a community of childless couples, single and older persons, and the rather well-off. Now it seeks to attract low-income families back to the center. a task, according to some observers, more difficult than drawing back the middle-class. Land values are high, building costs forbidding, and efforts to encourage low-income housing have not been successful. Whereas the city has been able to arrest the decline and deterioration evident in the fifties, it is faced with new aspects of the problem of urban flight: middle-class affluence driving the poor out of the center of the city and the emergence of new, working-class communities around the periphery of Amsterdam.

For school administrators and teachers, these social conditions have raised a number of new problems. The disparities between schooling of the poor and that of the children of better-educated segments of society were sharply revealed by population mobility in and around the city. They were heightened moreover by the arrival during the 1950s of considerable numbers of foreign immigrants, especially from former Dutch territories in South East Asia, now independent nations. At that time, too, in common with most of the countries of Europe, educational policy in the Netherlands was undergoing review and reform in the direction of opening the doors to more varied kinds of advanced secondary and higher education. The educational system came to be regarded as an agency

for social improvement and social justice and a means to alleviate the rigidities of class differentiation. With the movement toward a more unified system of schooling for all came pressures to change structures and modernize curriculum and teaching practices. For the municipality of Amsterdam, rich with tradition yet in the forefront of political, economic, and intellectual activity, the result is shown in a number of particular developments.

Though Amsterdam is a relatively small city compared to the others in this sample, the conditions described above are responsible first of all for a problem of numbers. No matter that the scale was smaller than elsewhere, the schools of Amsterdam had first to accommodate greater numbers of pupils because of rising birthrates in the post-World War II years, intranational migration to the city, and immigration from the Far East. But in addition, more places had to be found to accommodate the growing proportion of adolescents who were encouraged and who wished to extend their schooling. During the 1960s, two of the major public issues in schooling had to do with this pressure of numbers: reducing class size and increasing the number of teachers in the system.

The system's success in reducing overcrowding and attracting new teachers was however not enough to solve the problems. Rising costs of living in the city, shortage of housing, especially for families with young children, and general deterioration in the quality of living in the city were forces affecting the growth of the primary school population. They also worked upon school personnel. Young teachers, newly married with young children and other professionals of similar age, status, and aspirations, tended to move out of town after a few years of city living. Some would continue to hold their previous posts; others would seek appointments closer to their suburban residences as soon as possible. Teachers of Amsterdam were characterized by high turnover rates (about 25 percent per annum), being themselves part of a system marked by rapid change and a work force that was highly mobile in the face of widespread urban change and development.[8]

As has already been noted, the events in Amsterdam must be considered against the wider backcloth of national educational reforms. This was a time when the school system was coming to be seen as excessively academic and competitive, emphasizing preparation for university and the professions above all else, and serving to maintain traditional social distinctions (between blue and white collar, rural and urban activities, manual and intellectual occupations). Not only was this socially divisive and discriminatory, it was also out of harmony with national economic needs for a well-educated, skilled, and active population in all spheres of activity. In the case of Amsterdam, the gap in schooling among different groups, communities, or classes was particularly evident, due to the social upheaval caused by extensive immigration, urban redevelopment, and migration to the suburbs. Nowhere were the differences in achieve-

ment and aspiration more noticeable. In the very place where some of the best schools in the nation were to be found, where intellectual and cultural activities were at their liveliest, large groups of students were failing, dropping out, turning aside from the opportunities presented to them.

In order to break into the cycle of poor school performance and socioeconomic deprivation, the municipality has over the past ten to fifteen years provided extra assistance to deprived neighborhoods. This is used for new and additional teaching materials, for extra personal attention, and for ancillary staff with psychological and/or social work training to provide diagnosis and counseling, in order to make the necessary connections between the child in school and the child at home. Demonstration projects and action research have been encouraged in particular schools and neighborhoods, while in-service teacher courses are promoted. Observation and research studies have been widespread, attempting to harness the concerns and skills of research agencies, teacher organizations, and the school systems.

It is not easy to distinguish these efforts to equalize opportunity in the urban schools from those concerned with the more general strategy of modernizing the educational system, in particular reforming instructional methods. The movement toward activity methods in the classroom, for example, the new mathematics,less-structured programs, and more individualized curricula, are all part of a renaissant progressivism that concerns itself with both considerations. A recently publicized example is that of "Innovation Project Amsterdam," a scheme now operating in about half of the elementary schools in working-class districts of the municipality.

The project was started in 1971 on a limited experimental basis in one school in a working-class residential area. It was intended, like other efforts, to grapple with the educational difficulties working-class and minority-group pupils encounter in the city schools, seeking to establish closer connections between the children's experiences at home and at school. Its fundamental assumption was that poor school performance and the apparent intractability of the problem of declining standards in an age of compulsory, mass education were largely due to indifference to and even bafflement with the language and substance of teaching in conventional classrooms. Thus teachers involved in the project emphasize self-expression over grammatically accurate writing, considering the former as a necessary step before anything can be done with the latter; they do not discourage students from using the same language they speak outside school. Parents are drawn into the classrooms, and pupils visit their parents' places of work as part of a discussion of work possibilities. Improvised textbooks portray the neighborhoods where the pupils live rather than mountains and forests they have never seen. All efforts are direct-

ed at making the schoolroom an environment more conducive to personal expression and the curriculum closer to the pupils' everyday experiences.

The project appears to have gained the support of parents, teachers, and educational authorities in the working-class districts where it has spread. While it has not erased the differences between their educational outcomes and those of more stable, affluent social groups, reading and writing levels do seem to have improved somewhat, the number of pupils performing below grade levels has been reduced, and school vandalism has declined. But perhaps most important of all, school personnel have begun to join together with students and parents in the common enterprise of educating the young, rather than maintaining the separation of the past.

Though a small city by comparison with many other capitals, and set in a small country, compared to other European nations, Amsterdam thus exhibits a characteristic set of educational developments and problems deriving directly from big-city environmental change, both physical and social. It was first set the task of ensuring adequate resources to educate its young; it was immediately confronted with evidence that even when resources were distributed as equitably as possible, the outcomes of education differed sharply according to community status: new versus old, poor versus better-off. Though politically conservative as a municipality and concerned with restoring the grace and charm of its historic treasures, the city became the forum of radical political action by the young, by political parties, and by parents and educators. Educational politics and change in the Netherlands had been dominated by the religious differences of its population for many decades.[9] But as compromises achieved new structures and practices in education, the nation's attention was drawn to another set of differences that divided the nation, the socioeconomic strata which school policies appeared to maintain. National policy turned towards an educational system that would serve better the economic and social nature of modern democratic society, and Amsterdam, the nation's leading city, is deeply involved in seeking ways of implementing that policy.

London

Among all the world cities that draw people to visit and to stay, London has long enjoyed a special reputation for what used to be called "civic virtue." Other capitals might be more elegant, more modern, or better furnished with certain amenities, but London contained a goodly share of all the outstanding characteristics of a great metropolis: government and financial power, cultural riches, grand streets and historic buildings, and lively economic activities of many kinds. A liberal and farsighted local government ensured that the population had ample open spaces, parks that were the envy

of urbanists throughout the world, outstanding entertainment facilities, efficient and uncorrupt administration, excellent public transportation. Moreover, as visitors testified, the streets were generally clean and well ordered and the people never too busy for a cheerful, friendly response to strangers as well as one another.

In the past decade or two, London's reputation has suffered somewhat in comparison with the past. While many of its traditional virtues remain, there have been important changes. In part, these are due to the difficulties the entire nation has experienced in recovering from post-World War II disorder and in striving to achieve economic stability and growth. But they are also a result of continued metropolitan growth and the need to cope with increasing pressure of numbers and demands for social services without the necessary resources: financial, human, political. The signs of deterioration may not be dramatic, but congestion on the streets and in public transportation is severe, public services are often unable to maintain former standards, costs are high, and in spite of extensive building and modernization, the rate of deterioration in certain areas of the city is considerable.

Recent population statistics give an impression of relative stability:[10]

	Population mid-1974	Population mid-1976
Inner London	2,586,800	2,494,600
Outer London	4,587,100	4,533,600
Greater London	7,173,900	7,028,200

The population of Greater London was, however, 7.88 million in 1967 and has shown a steady decline overall of more than 1 percent per annum over the past decade, the more central boroughs declining at a far higher rate. Net migration accounts for the majority of this change, though two additional facts should be noted. The first is that immigration from "New Commonwealth" countries (predominantly India, Pakistan, and the West Indies), though declining recently, has been a major source of population growth in Britain during the past twenty years. Most of these immigrants have settled in a few urban areas, with London gaining a large proportion.[11] Secondly, birthrates differ substantially according to the birthplace of the mother, being three or four times as high among "New Commonwealth" mothers as others. Thus the outward migration of the population of London is being masked by immigration from former British dependencies abroad and by the relatively high birthrates among them. Such statistics merely confirm what is evident to the observer: bus conductors and subway guards are likely to speak in Indian accents (West or East); certain shopping and residential areas are dominated by immigrants.[12] The most important demographic fact about London is its migration and the high degree of concentration of foreign-born in large enclaves. These have had their effects on the prop-

erty market and on local government's financial capacities as well as needs. Social and community tensions have erupted into racial clashes on occasion, marking a general decline of the urban climate. The combination of crowded and substandard housing, high unemployment and poor health, has, in some areas, placed great stress on the local authority's capacities. By the same token, exploitation of new immigrants and flight to the suburbs have reduced the city's resources as well as important social barriers to deterioration.

An important step was taken in 1965 when, in a major reform in local government, the Greater London Council (GLC) replaced the former County of London; and large sections of the surrounding suburban and commuter belt were incorporated in a more rational unit for governing the metropolis. While these were functionally parts of London, they were formerly administered by the several counties adjacent to the city. With the 1965 reform, these areas became parts of a local government unit which operates on a regional basis, with central coordination and planning and some delegation of authority to local community levels within the GLC region.

Schooling in London is governed in this two-tier system: The Inner London Educational Authority (ILEA)[13] administers the schools for a little under four hundred thousand pupils, while some twenty smaller units are responsible for areas on the periphery, formerly parts of adjacent County Authorities. A board in which all units participate (the ILEA and the other GLC units) develops budget and general policy for schooling in the whole metropolitan area, comprising 1,147,899 pupils in 1976.

Preschooling is rarely provided by public authorities in Britain, so that it is from the statistics on primary, secondary, and special education provided in Table 1 that important features and trends may be derived. The total primary school population of England and Wales has been growing steadily, peaking in the middle 1970s and now declining, though it is still greater than it was at the beginning of the decade. However, while the profile for the Outer London area is quite similar to the national pattern, figures for the ILEA system show a steady decline throughout the period. As for secondary schools, their population has increased by nearly one-third nationally (and may be expected to grow for another few years) as a result of past birth rates and various measures to encourage longer school attendance (the school leaving age was raised to sixteen years in 1972-73). But growth has been far less in London: about a quarter for the Outer London areas over the six-year period and a mere 10 percent in the ILEA. It should be noted, however, that this lower level of growth is not due simply to decline in the number of students available. The London area has traditionally had higher rates of postcompulsory school attendance,[14] as have urban areas in general, so that there was in fact less scope for growth.

Table 1: Pupils and Qualified Teachers in Maintained Schools, 1969-76

	1970	1972	1974	1976
Nursery Schools				
No. of pupils:				
Outer London	2,762	3,567	3,822	3,830
ILEA	2,914	3,308	3,537	3,849
GLC	5,676	6,875	7,359	7,679
Rest of England and Wales	28,544	32,566	38,473	42,489
Ratio of pupils to teaching staff:				
Outer London	19.8	19.9	19.5	18.0
ILEA	22.2	20.4	19.7	19.5
GLC	21.0	20.2	19.6	18.8
Rest of England and Wales	19.1	18.7	22.2	21.4
Primary Schools				
No. of pupils:				
Outer London	425,012	445,948	448,536	438,101
ILEA	249,560	248,421	237,744	219,010
GLC	674,572	694,369	686,280	657,111
Rest of England and Wales	4,266,822	4,466,705	4,538,117	4,505,363
Ratio of pupils to teaching staff:				
Outer London	27.6	26.3	25.0	24.2
ILEA	24.9	22.8	21.7	19.9
GLC	26.5	24.9	23.7	22.6
Rest of England and Wales	27.5	26.3	25.0	24.1
Secondary Schools				
No. of pupils:				
Outer London	271,159	289,769	321,980	334,959
ILEA	163,668	164,924	177,115	179,523
GLC	434,827	454,693	499,095	514,482
Rest of England and Wales	2,611,147	2,796,733	3,224,648	3,421,018
Ratio of pupils to teaching staff:				
Outer London	17.2	17.3	17.2	16.7
ILEA	15.3	15.6	15.9	15.6
GLC	16.4	16.6	16.7	16.3
Rest of England and Wales	18.0	17.7	17.6	17.1
Special Schools				
No. of pupils:				
Outer London	6,634	9,803	10,469	10,569
ILEA	9,738	10,908	10,762	10,192
GLC	16,372	20,711	21,231	20,761
Rest of England and Wales	61,603	93,659	101,076	n.a.
Ratio of pupils to teaching staff:				
Outer London	8.8	9.0	9.1	7.5
ILEA	8.8	8.8	8.7	7.2
GLC	8.8	8.9	8.9	7.3
Rest of England and Wales	11.2	9.8	10.0	n.a.

SOURCE: 1975 Annual Abstract of Greater London Statistics. London: Greater London Council, 1977. Table 7.13, p. 162.

Finally, London has for long led other areas in its provisions for pupils with physical and mental handicaps. The figures presented in Table 1 show a modest increase in the number of special education pupils for the ILEA area over the first half of the decade, while there was considerable growth during the same period in the outer boroughs and in the rest of England and Wales. Here again it appears that the central areas of the metropolis had less scope for expansion having earlier on made extensive provision for children with special needs.

That the supply of teachers was adequate to meet the growing school population is clear from the pubil/teacher ratios reported. In fact, the ratios either remain constant or grow somewhat smaller over the period under review. It should be noted that ILEA ratios for both primary and secondary schools are notably lower than those in Outer London (and in the rest of England and Wales), due in all likelihood to extra staffing in the Educational Priority Areas (see below). Though there are deficiencies here and there, teachers are no longer in short supply in England, and the metropolis is well able to attract the numbers it needs. Despite the high cost of living in London, particularly of housing, well-qualified young teachers are drawn to the city. But the pattern is also affected by the desire of young teachers, once they marry, to seek better accommodations for their families and thus posts closer to their new homes away from the center of town. At the same time, particular districts and schools become identified as more difficult posts, so that teachers with a few years' experience attempt to move to more desirable situations. These conditions ensure that the teaching cadre in London is on the whole better qualified than the national average (so far as formal educational qualifications are concerned), and that in the ILEA area in particular they are younger, less experienced, and far more mobile.[15]

A recent announcement by the ILEA stated that since school rolls are expected to decline by 16,000 pupils in 1978=79, the Authority will require 700 fewer teachers to maintain previous staffing levels. However, it will keep 600 of the posts in order "to improve standards and establish new units for disruptive students," for which purpose a special budget provision is being made.[16] This measure points to a set of serious problems that have been plaguing London's school system for several years. Despite increasing efforts to deal with them, the patterns of declining achievement standards and growing disorder marked by student indiscipline and vandalism have persisted. It is easy to exaggerate these phenomena, especially as, periodically, the mass media provide sensational reporting on the subject. London secondary schools, as has already been noted, still retain larger proportions of the postcompulsory age groups than the national average, and the GLC area compares favorably with national averages on such measures as proportions of students achieving superior results in school-leaving examinations and continuing on to higher education studies. Certain schools and districts in London rank very high in the nation in these respects. However, it has also

become evident that other schools and districts rank very low, and that average results mask the fact that in many ILEA districts and in one or two of the suburban (GLC) districts, performance has been deteriorating over the past ten years or more. Great concern is directed at achievement in the lower and middle reaches of the school ladder where performance in the basis skills (reading, writing, arithmetic) has been declining.

These phenomena must be considered in the context of two historical events, both of them nationwide but also significant for highly urbanized areas of England. The first is the general pattern of reform that has characterized British educational thought and practice (as it has that of many European countries) for the past twenty-five years. The purposes have been to make schooling at the secondary level more accessible and more appropriate to all and to lessen its degree of social selectivity and exclusivity. The movement toward comprehensive schools, the increase in the school-leaving age, and the attempts to incorporate into the education system a wide array of career options are all part of this trend. At the same time, educational thinking in Britain underwent a progressive revival, marked by reforms in instructional methods that were most evident at the primary levels and in the newer, expanding sectors of secondary education. The sixties and early seventies were the decades of such concepts as infant schooling, open classrooms, Nuffield Mathematics, and the integrated curriculum, not because the ideas were new but rather because they enjoyed wider popularity and acceptance than previously. It was an era of curriculum reform and innovation, with public as well as professional discussion of the social significances of educational change, and of its political and economic necessity. Once and for all, many thought, the school system could be directed toward solving rather than exacerbating the problems of social-class differentiation and of the chronically poor. At the same time, however, a second set of conditions prevailed: a substantial increase in the school-age population, the series of waves of immigration from the former British dependencies in Asia, Africa, and the West Indies, and persistent economic difficulties for the nation.

For the urban areas of Britain, and especially for London, this meant a particular stress upon developing new ways of dealing with their disproportionate share of poor and immigrant school populations[17] (see Table 2). However, the degree of neighborhood concentration is even greater than these figures reveal: in four of the ten inner London boroughs, immigrants comprised over 20 percent of the school population; in two of the twenty outer London boroughs they formed over 27 percent of the school population.

The educational implications are dishearteningly familiar. In a follow-up study of an earlier survey of pupil literacy, the ILEA found that attainment of immigrant children was on the average lower than that of nonimmigrants (nine-year-olds were on the average one year behind in reading), that they were not performing as well as

Table 2: Immigrant Pupils by Country of Origin: England, Jan. 1972

	Pupils from								
	AFRICA		ASIA		EUROPE	W. INDIES	REST OF WORLD	Total number of Immigrant Pupils	Immigrant pupils as a percentage of all pupils.
	Asian Origin	African Origin	India	Pakistan and others					
Outer London									
Number	6,684	5,292	14,652	7,228	10,837	24,353	3,459	72,505	9.9
% of Immigrants	9.2	7.3	20.2	10.0	15.5	33.6	4.7	100.0	
Inner London									
Number	1,620	5,807	4,170	4,314	13,828	36,850	3,063	69,652	17.3
% of Immigrants	2.3	8.3	6.0	6.3	19.8	52.9	4.4	100.0	
Greater London									
Number	8,304	11,099	18,822	11,542	24,665	61,203	6,522	142,157	12.5
% of Immigrants	5.8	7.8	13.2	8.1	17.4	43.1	4.6	100.0	
Rest of England & Wales									
Number	9,036	4,730	37,371	27,095	13,774	40,695	5,014	137,715	1.9
% of Immigrants	6.6	3.5	27.1	19.6	9.9	29.6	3.7	100.0	
All England & Wales									
Number	17,340	15,829	56,193	38,637	38,439	101,898	11,536	279,872	3.3
% of Immigrants	6.2	5.7	20.1	13.8	13.7	36.4	4.1	100.0	

Source: 1972 Annual Abstract of Greater London Statistics. London: Greater London Council, 1973, pp. 196-97.

underprivileged white children, and furthermore, that minority group children who were fully educated in England were still functioning at levels well below that of other children.[18] Emotional difficulties, disorderly conduct, truancy, early school-leaving: all are more prevalent among children of immigrants. One study of West Indian pupils found that the incidence of both school and family problems was considerably greater in a London group than in a comparable group living in far less congested and concentrated circumstances outside the London area.[19]

Much of the effort to deal with these circumstances is in the spirit of "positive discrimination," the term used in the influential Plowden Report of 1967.[20] All over the country, Educational Priority Areas were identified and their schools recognized as requiring special assistance. These were selected on the basis of several criteria: economic (occupation, unemployment rate); social (family size, housing conditions, proportion of non-English-speaking persons); and educational (attendance levels, proportion of retarded or handicapped children). In 1969, some 570 such schools were so designated, most of them in urban areas and many in London. These received extra resources of materials, equipment, and staff, as well as encouragement to adapt their programs to the special needs and problems of their school populations. A number of new practices were adopted in London. Vestibule (or transitional) classes were set up to ease the entry of new immigrants to the regular schoolroom, and immigrant centers were established for adults as well as children to aid in the transition to London life. A demonstration action research project in Inner London (in the borough of Deptford) emphasized new approaches to developing language skills, teacher-directed in-service activities, and greater parental involvement in the school (the latter a considerable departure from the usual British practice). Teacher Centers were established with local authority support but run by teachers themselves as centers for study and exchange of experiences and places to develop innovative projects of many kinds. In one secondary comprehensive school (in Tulse Hill, London), teachers began to discuss with their senior pupils how the curriculum might be modified to represent the fact that there was a large black minority in the school.

Black studies appeared here and there in the schools in response to rising racial tensions and self-consciousness, as did other attempts to teach racial awareness in a desire to ease tensions and conflict. In 1974, a government White Paper addressed the topic of educational disadvantage and the special educational needs of immigrants, stressing the importance of advancing harmony between races by teaching knowledge of cultural traditions of the countries of emigration as well as the indigenous culture. In-service courses, workshops, and other activities of the ILEA's Centre for Urban Educational Studies are examples of London's response to these needs.

How successful the educational authorities have been is difficult to judge. Certainly there has been considerable effort. In a memorandum to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration in July 1976, the Department of Education and Science pointed to the poorer levels of performance of immigrants vis-à-vis their indigenous contemporaries but observed that those fully educated in the United Kingdom were doing better than those only partly educated there. The Inspectorate, they observed, had identified some schools that had done very well, showing good academic achievement by immigrants and mutual respect among the races. They noted that the school problems were but a part of the whole pattern of social and economic differences and difficulties. They spoke of efforts to deal with different kinds of need (linguistic, behavioral, and cultural) and the need for further work with teachers, with school-community liaison, and with new programs and materials. They admitted the difficulties of recruiting minority group teachers. In conclusion, they state:

> It will be apparent that the education service has gone some ways towards identifying the distinct needs of the ethnic minorities and towards devising the means to meet them. But though we may now have a better understanding both of the opportunities for progress and the obstacles which must be overcome, it is evident that much remains to be done.[21]

Scarcity of resources is a severe constraint for the country and for metropolitan London in particular. Some observers have seen cause for optimism in the declining enrollment figures and the increased teacher supply in London, and are encouraged by local and governmental efforts to provide extra support through urban aid programs, educational priority area projects, and community development work. But the ironies and contradictions persist: parents, including many immigrant parents, deplore declining standards and demand stricter school discipline, while some teachers fear the accusation of racism if they reprimand their black students. To prevent the percentage of immigrant children in their neighborhood school from rising above 30 to 40 percent, one borough bused a number of Asian children to a nearby area, but was then charged with breaking the Race Relations Act by practicing negative discrimination.

New York

With its great concentration of people and towering buildings, New York has been the epitome of a great city for the whole world. But skyscrapers, a dense and richly varied population, and geographical sprawl do not alone account for its eminence. Though the nation's political center is elsewhere, New York is its capital for finance, for the communications industry that dominates the continent,

and for the arts. For many decades, it served as the nation's major port of entry, and even today one-third of all U.S. imports and exports pass through New York. It is the largest producer of goods and services in the country, radiating influence across the world, attracting high levels of skill and talent, exporting people and materials in all directions. And finally, its cosmopolitanism is seen on all sides, not only in the travelers it attracts as tourists but also in the various languages, looks, and life-styles of its residents.

New York's image has become sadly tarnished during the past years, the result of a number of forces. Industry, commerce, and population have developed in other parts of the nation, drawing wealth and energy from the northeast to the west and south. Meanwhile, newcomers continued to stream into the area from the depressed areas of the south, from overcrowded urban ghettos of the midwest, and from underdeveloped Puerto Rico, while the metropolis continued to sprawl into adjacent counties and states. Local government has created an extensive program of social welfare, extremely favorable conditions for its growing army of civil service workers, and a favored position for labor unions. But the combination of demographic changes, regional and national, and spiraling social and economic costs led to the recent decline of the fortunes of New York: unremitting demands for services, accelerated flight to the suburbs and beyond of people and economic enterprises, deteriorating living conditions, and financial instability. As a result, the population of New York City has been steadily declining, despite the fact that in certain areas (notably the boroughs of Queens and Staten Island) community size has been growing. Meanwhile, the total concentration of people in the metropolitan area has continued to increase as a result of growth in the adjacent counties of the state and in New Jersey and Connecticut. The outflow of people has for the most part comprised young families, largely white and middle-class, seeking living space and conditions that were not available to them in the city.

Attitudes are as important as facts in determining the mobility of people. Results of a recent public opinion poll of a representative sample of New York residents are revealing:[22] though full of criticisms and concerns, respondents praised many aspects of their city and were optimistic about its prospects for the future. Among the problems they confronted, most identified crime as their most serious concern; next came transportation and the high cost of living. The investigators found a perceptible movement toward the right in politics and stressed that polarization among ethnic groups in the city was most evident on matters connected with race, such as policies concerned with school integration, city housing, and welfare. Differences of attitude were noted among the boroughs, consistent with the social and other attributes of their citizens.

New York has historically been a center of Democratic Party power and was nationally a powerful force in the equal rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. Because of this, and perhaps also because of the deep-seated traditional hostility in the United States toward cities in general,[23] New Yorkers are themselves ambivalent about their home: defensive about criticism; proud of their amenities; cynical about their politicians, administrators, and plans for change. Private conversations, the daily newspapers, and other forums are filled with criticism of public schooling, for example, yet in the poll referred to above, most people felt confident that their children could obtain a good education in the city's schools, the largest system of public education in the nation.

The public school system of New York City provides for 1.1 million students, employing over 100,000 personnel, including about 62,000 teachers. These figures for 1975-76 mark a 20 percent reduction in staff over the previous year due to severe budgetary restriction. However the size of the school population remained much the same, declining moderately by about 32,000 students since 1969 (Table 3). The rate and direction of population change differed in various parts of the city: the number of students in Brooklyn and the Bronx decreased while those of Queens and Staten Island rose. Furthermore, within the boroughs there were sharp differences among school districts with some showing a substantial increase in school populations while nearby areas grew smaller. All the statistics point to a continuing high degree of fluidity in the school population and the mobility of the city's residents in general. In some schools, annual turnover rates of over 100 percent are not uncommon.

Since 1969, administration of the schools has been shared between a city-wide Board of Education and 32 community school boards. Local boards are elected; members of the central board are appointed by the five borough presidents and the city mayor. Community boards control elementary, junior high, and middle schools in their respective districts subject to city-wide policies; the central board has jurisdiction over the high schools, special education, and other city-wide operations. The administrative system was established by state legislation after a long period of public debate and severe conflict in order to enable local communities more direct access to decision making in their local schools. An expense budget of some $2,804 million for 1975-76 was merely 3 percent over that of the previous year; the capital budget was 15 percent lower than the previous year at $293 million. Costs have been rising due to inflationary trends generally, and the city's education budgets have thus been severely curtailed in real money terms due to New York's financial situation.

Projections are for the decline in total school population to continue over the next few years. Meanwhile changes continue to take place in its socioeconomic and ethnic composition. The relatively small overall decline over the past six years, and changes of

Table 3: New York City School Register, by Level and Borough

Level	Manhattan	Bronx	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Island	New York City
Pre-Kindergarten	1,058	409	779	115	--	2,361
Kindergarten	8,215	13,926	22,832	18,171	4,629	67,773
Elementary	67,512	103,840	174,024	103,248	22,959	471,583
Junior High/ Intermediate	31,047	52,781	80,989	51,284	12,809	228,910
Academic-Comprehensive High	46,387	45,653	89,069	72,131	16,051	269,291
Vocational-Technical High	13,827	6,867	17,600	6,364	1,359	46,017
Special Education	6,450	1,889	2,554	1,399	777	13,069
Total 1975	174,496	225,365	387,847	252,712	58,584	1,099,004
Total 1974	173,744	228,508	392,050	250,648	57,955	1,102,905
Total 1969	--	--	--	--	--	1,130,814

SOURCE: New York City Public Schools, Facts and Figures. New York: NYC Public Schools. (Annual)

no more than 2 or 3 percentage points do not tell the complete story. Black and Puerto Rican pupils have comprised the majority of the school's population since about 1967, and their percentages have continued to increase while "Others" (the New York euphemism for whites) comprise a declining proportion of the total. In the entire city, the black school population has increased by 33,375, the Puerto Rican by 7,000 or so, while the white school population has declined by 94,092 (between 1969 and 1976). Closer examination of school districts and particular neighborhoods reveals that differences are sharp, that the degree of segregation in the school system has increased despite various national and local efforts to reduce it. The nature of population settlement patterns of ethnic groups and migration patterns in the city, ensures a high concentration of non-English speaking pupils in some areas (or, perhaps better stated, children of non-English speaking parents) and large numbers of children of immigrants from the rural south and from poverty areas in other sections. Many are in fact the grandchildren of migrants from the 1940s who, notwithstanding the wartime boom, still remained in depressed economic circumstances. Poor skills, low employability, substandard housing: all accompany the set of characteristics associated with low school achievement and severe educational problems. These are poor health, a high incidence of broken homes, and low aspiration. The pattern of deprivation, the cycle of poverty, is endemic in New York City and its schools.

During the late 1950s, New York's schools were overcrowded as a result of postwar growth, with many students on shortened or double sessions. Budgets were inadequate to cover all the necessities: increased teaching force, renovation of old buildings, construction of new ones. Disorder in the schools became a public concern as well as a professional one, with reports of increased delinquency, vandalism, violence, especially in slum schools. Furthermore, the traditional liberal policy of remaining "color-blind" in educational matters was no longer tenable. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that school segregation was inherently discriminatory, and the degree of racial segregation and the extent of Negro educational retardation in the New York public schools was highly publicized. A third major concern was a result of the publication of the 1961 city-wide test scores that revealed a sharp decline of average student achievement to a level below national norms. This was the inevitable outcome of the new immigration and of the growing flight to the suburbs (or to private schooling) of thousands of middle-class students. The final aspect of the context was educational reform: pressure to liberalize school curriculum and instructional methods and to experiment with new structures.

The major approach to dealing with the associated problems of chronically poor achievement, student indiscipline, low rates of attendance, and high school completion has been a compensatory one.

Table 4: Ethnic Composition of New York City School Population

1969	Blacks	American Indians	Orientals	Puerto Ricans	Other Spanish Surnamed Americans	Others	Total
Elementary	215,902	90	9,094	150,058	20,806	215,552	611,502
JHS-Intermediate	79,790	41	3,187	51,054	6,389	88,450	228,911
Academic High	64,798	133	3,331	33,673	5,616	128,536	236,087
Vocational High	12,938	25	463	12,122	667	12,722	38,937
Special Schools	3,520	--	19	2,148	96	1,945	7,728
TOTAL	376,948	289	16,094	249,055	33,574	447,205	1,123,165
Percent of Total	33.6	0.0	1.4	22.2	3.0	39.8	100.0
1974							
Elementary	201,683	226	12,330	140,110	28,867	170,182	553,398
JHS-Intermediate	87,361	93	4,772	53,331	10,861	70,584	227,002
Academic High	91,741	209	5,415	42,670	13,018	111,753	264,306
Vocational High	16,521	45	688	14,067	1,325	10,590	43,236
Special Schools	5,758	4	47	3,274	321	2,378	11,782
TOTAL	403,064	577	23,252	253,452	54,392	365,487	1,100,224
Percent of Total	36.6	0.1	2.1	23.0	5.0	33.2	100.0
1975							
Elementary	198,793	305	12,496	137,295	29,102	163,695	541,686
JHS-Intermediate	89,257	151	4,984	54,789	10,756	68,973	228,910
Academic High	97,466	224	5,918	45,271	12,914	107,518	269,311
Vocational High	18,277	49	830	15,210	1,167	10,495	46,028
Special Schools	6,530	14	41	3,727	325	2,432	13,069
TOTAL	410,323	743	24,269	256,292	54,264	353,113	1,099,004
Percent of Total	37.4	0.1	2.2	23.3	4.9	32.1	100.0

SOURCE: New York City Public Schools. Facts and Figures. (Annual)

Subsidized by substantial support from the federal government under legislation approved during the civil rights era of the mid-1960s, New York, like other local authorities, provides additional services to schools (both public and nonpublic) in economically and educationally disadvantaged areas. Extra materials and personnel are made available, permitting the development of special programs, greater flexibility, and innovative practices. Programs are supposedly developed in consultation with parents and community groups according to current New York State and City priorities.

The compensatory approach is well illustrated by one of the first ameliorative programs in the system, named "Higher Horizons." Class size was reduced; remedial instruction, extra counseling, and cultural activities were added; and parental involvement was encouraged. After initial success as a limited experimental project in one school, the approach was extended rapidly. But the associated problems of growing racial segregation and declining standards of achievement were not removed simply by extending a successful small-scale experiment to the whole system. Critics have argued that over-rapid expansion of the Higher Horizons program meant inadequate financing, untrained staffing and supervision, and a diminution of the "Hawthorne effect" that characterized the earlier compensatory efforts. Other measures were developed and implemented to attack the twin problems, some more concerned with administrative organization, others more specifically pedagogical.

Open enrollment, rezoning of school districts, busing across district or community borders, and pairing of nearby schools with different ethnic populations were all measures that the educational authority considered and implemented. All were concerned with improving ethnic balance; each was a matter of heated public debate and a cause of increasing polarization among community and city-wide groups. The sixties and early seventies were a period during which school issues in New York were highly politicized, a period when conflict was common and parents, teachers, students, and administrators came out in opposition, even on strike, against one another and against policies of the Board. There was little apparent improvement in either educational conditions in the schools or in racial balance within the system as a result of these upheavals. However, two outcomes may be noted. Teacher activism and militancy resulted in the establishment of their union as a powerful force to be reckoned with in all matters affecting New York school policy. And the administrative system was reorganized into thirty-two community districts and a central board, as described above.

The pedagogical changes, which were instituted in order to improve outcomes, lessen tensions, and restore the city's schools as a service to its young citizens, touched upon many areas of curriculum, instructional methods, and internal school organization. They included alternative "Mini-schools," the More Effective Schools

program, and Headstart. Bilingual education programs were designed to provide instruction in English as a second language for non-English speaking pupils, to give those students general school content in their native tongue as well as instruction in their own native cultures.[24] Black studies programs and, subsequently, other ethnic studies were developed, often integrating literature and social studies areas that had formerly not comprised part of the standard school curriculum. Support services and cultural enrichment activities of the type embodied in the compensatory approach continue, though severely curtailed by recent budget exigencies.[25] However, in recent years, support services have been directed more and more at diagnosing problems and seeking to improve performance in basic skill areas of reading, writing, and counting.

Special programs that are now well established at the high school level include attempts to make curriculum more acceptable to students and to encourage them to remain in school and seek further education beyond it. In some of the city's high schools, special units have been established for selected students with high potential but poor motivation or for chronic truants where small classes, special programs, and individual attention are the norm. The College Bound Program, established in 1967, aimed at improving basic academic skills, motivation, and college acceptance rates for high school students from poverty areas, while the College Discovery Program, jointly operated by the City University and the Board of Education of New York (and funded partly by federal money) aims to identify disadvantaged, under-achieving ninth-grade students with potential and prepare them for college.

The examples cited do not exhaust all the measures taken in New York to deal with its perceived school problems but are sufficient to illustrate the general trends. Supportive and enrichment activities combined with a movement to amend traditional instructional methods and materials; emphasis on achieving particular content or standards at specific stages was reduced as attempts were made to engage students more actively in their own education. For the past few years, however, a "back-to-basics" call has become louder. There has been heavier emphasis upon fundamental skills; changes in promotion policy, which formerly prevented schools from having poor pupils repeat a grade more than once per school level (elementary and/or junior high); and reinstatement of standards -- revised and supposedly more demanding than the older ones -- for high school graduation. Whether the changing trend is due to budget pressures, public opinion, or the considered evaluation that other measures have not succeeded in achieving the goals intended is not clear. A combination of these causes is no doubt at work here.

Numerous studies have been conducted to assess the effects of such measures upon the condition of New York schooling. However, no comprehensive judgment can be made.[26] Drop-out rates remain

high in the city. The proportion of students leaving before completing high school is 9.8 percent, the highest rate in New York State, which averaged 5.4 percent. But differences were sharp among the several boroughs, with high rates in the Bronx, Manhattan, and Brooklyn (12.2, 10.8, and 10.0 respectively) and lower rates in Queens and Staten Island (7.8 and 6.2).[27]

Poor achievement results continue to concern those interested in New York's public education. Results of the most recent city-wide reading tests (in grades 2 to 9) cannot be compared with earlier years since new tests and norms were developed.[28] Some sense of the standards achieved can be derived from comparison with the national norms and from the great differences among districts within the city. In the first three grades (2 to 4), city-wide, the means were at or above grade norms; at the other levels tested, means were somewhat below. City-wide percentage of all pupils reading at or above grade level was 40.1 (the nationwide norm being 50.0).

Closer examination of the test results reveals that in eight school districts, 50 percent or more of the students scored at or above their grade levels, while in twelve districts, on average over all grades, 30 percent or fewer scored at or above grade level (these figures include non-English-speaking students). Disparities among schools, sometimes even in the same district, are more extreme, ranging from over 80 percent of pupils reading at or above grade level to as low as 10 percent. While these figures do represent the extremes and are influenced at the lower end by heavy concentrations of non-English speaking pupils, variability among schools is very great.

From the confused and incomplete evidence, some observers conclude that the rapid decline in reading scores has been stopped and that achievement results are improving. They perceive some improvement in school discipline and vandalism. Teacher supply is generally more than adequate so that the high degree of turnover may be expected to decline. And educational controversy seems more concerned with school practice and educational outcomes, that is, with strictly pedagogical concerns, than with broader issues of power and politics. The problems have not disappeared, but the changes may simply be a result of demographic and urban socioeconomic events rather than school policies: lessening pressure of numbers of pupils in the system, reduction of the teacher cadre due to budget economies, a movement away from more radical thinking and expectations of immediate amelioration, and a general economic decline that makes schooling more important as a tool of subsequent economic survival.

In her definitive history of social change and the public schools of New York,[29] Ravitch observes that the schools were "pinioned by their own legend...." In the legend, poor immigrants were successfully educated by the schools to become integrated in

the society as productive and upward-striving citizens. If some did less well, it was due to differences in individual merit or effort, rather than differences among cultural groups. But, she continues, the legend was untrue. School failure amongst children of European immigrants at the beginning of the century was high, some groups performed better than others, and the schools did not so much alleviate social and other differences as provide a stage for social and educational policy determination. The historical precedents continue to operate. Demographic and economic changes in the metropolis determine school conditions, and the educational system provides an arena for battling over general social as well as school issues. School problems remain highly volatile politically, while ethnic politics still permeate educational policies.

Tel Aviv

Heterogeneity is the mark of all great cities, and one of its signs is variety of languages. By this measure, Tel Aviv is the most varied of cities. The largest population concentration in a highly polyglot nation, Tel Aviv resounds with the many mother tongues of Israelis, most of whom immigrated during the great influxes of twenty-five and thirty years ago. Hebrew is the national language used in government, commerce, and all other public transactions, as well as the means of communication in the schools. But for the majority of youth, another language will be heard at home, in stores, and offices. All over the city, bookstores and newsstands display the printed word in many different forms.

The population of Tel Aviv/Jaffa is approximately 353,800 (1975), nearly 50 percent larger than it was in 1948 when large-scale immigration from abroad was building up, but declining slightly over recent years by some 2 or 3 percent per year. Nevertheless, the population of Tel Aviv district, which includes small communities on the periphery of the more densely populated city area, continues to grow steadily, though not at the same rate as the total population of Israel.[30] This is explained in part by the increasing density and shortage of housing in Tel Aviv, in part by government policy that encourages settlement in new towns, rural areas, and the more sparsely settled portions of the country.

The recent history of Israeli education has been dominated by two major concerns: to integrate immigrants into a loyal and unified national population, and to assure the nation of an adequate supply of well-educated and highly skilled young people. The population of Israel is composed of approximately 45 percent Ashkenazim (immigrants and their descendents, mainly from Europe and North America) and a little over 50 percent Sephardim (largely from North Africa and the Middle East). The two groups differ in religious traditions, country of origin, nativelanguages, and culture. They differ too, most dramatically, in educational and economic levels.

Ashkenazi immigrants were usually well educated by the standards of the Western world, and well motivated toward institutional schooling. They were well equipped to participate in the economic and political life of the modern, democratic state. Sephardim, however, came as a rule from underdeveloped countries. The ways of life and the institutions (including schooling) of the modern state were strange to most of them, and their capacities to make use of them was consequently limited. Ashkenazim therefore continue to dominate in the professions, in administration and technology, and in politics, while Sephardim occupy the lower economic strata. This phenomenon is probably the single, most threatening devisive force in the State of Israel; and its educational as well as other institutions strive to narrow the cultural gap by all means possible.

For the school system of Tel Aviv, the primary target is to narrow the achievement gap between the children of the poorer, undereducated classes of society and the rest. But this must be done without any sacrifice whatsoever of the highest standards of schooling. The small nation cannot afford to lose its high level of skill development by any rapid or injudicious attempts at social leveling in education. Thus Tel Aviv, in concert with national policy in these respects, maintains a conventionally structured school system infused with various measures to upgrade the success of those groups who occupy the lowest rungs of society's ladder.

The municipal school system provides a basic school system of preschooling, elementary, and general secondary education, the latter oriented toward academic and professional studies at the higher education level.[31] But beyond ensuring this basic structure, the major problems have to do with children and students who have special difficulties: those with physical and psychological handicaps; low achievers, absentees, and early dropouts; youngsters from economically depressed and culturally different social backgrounds; and children from highly mobile or transient families. As may be expected, there is great overlap among these groups, and the pattern of circumstances that accounts for poor school attendance and achievement is especially marked among children of Asian and North African immigrants.

With support from central government funds, Tel Aviv, like other municipalities, has developed an array of compensatory practices intended to improve the achievement and attitudes of this large sector of its school population. Educators, including social workers, psychologists, and child-care workers, early instituted an extended school day and provision for preschooling in certain schools and communities that were identified as in special need. Preschooling inspired the Headstart programs in the United States, in which children were exposed to experiences intended to enhance their capacity to benefit from regular elementary schooling, to improve their readiness for more formal instruction, to provide basic social training, and at the same time involve their mothers in

Table 5: Number of Pupils in Tel Aviv Schools by Major Category.*

	Secular	Religious	Other	Total
Kindergarten	6,900	1,420	580+	8,900
Elementary	24,386	3,897	3,217+	31,500
Intermediate	6,400	859		8,150
General Secondary	4,900	900		5,800
Vocational/ Technical	2,350			
Post-elementary/ commercial, work/study	1,950			4,300
Special Schools for Distressed Youth	350			350
			TOTAL	59,000

*Education in Tel Aviv/Jaffa: Four Years 1974-1977. Tel Aviv: Directorate of the Municipal Education Department, 1977.

+Includes children in special education (130 at kindergarten level and 1,338 at elementary).

such activities. Thus parental education in child care, nutrition, and home economics was a supplement to a basically compensatory approach to young children.

A range of supportive services is provided in the elementary schools to aid children in special need. Apart from the classes and schools catering to physically and psychologically handicapped children, a growing number of pupils require extra assistance in the regular schools.[32] According to national policy, schools may be designated "disadvantaged" on the basis of several factors: the proportion of parents of Asian or African origin; the physical condition of buildings and equipment; the level of education and training of the school staff; and the results of achievement testing in the eighth grade (the nationwide SEKER examination in basic skills). Disadvantaged schools receive additional resources for any or all of the following measures: an extended school day, in which the additional time may be used for enrichment activities (interest clubs, trips, informal education); efforts to bring school and parents closer together; and remedial instruction, especially in reading, mathematics, health, and nutrition. Curriculum and structural reform has generated new programs, such as vocationally oriented postelementary schooling and special intermediate schools. These are a departure from the predominantly academic and college-preparatory secondary schools and are intended to encourage youth to complete this phase of schooling as well as to prepare them for work. They include apprenticeship training and work-study programs for young adolescents.

Such measures are widely utilized by the educational authorities of Tel Aviv. About thirty thousand students (about half the school population) are in a special program to implement the Compulsory Education law[33] by improving attendance and reducing dropouts in the elementary grades 1 to 6 and in postelementary and intermediate schools (grades 7 to 9). Their attendance is closely supervised. Special officers follow up on individual cases with families and school staff, and in cases of student movement to another area, communication is made with other local authorities. Some youth are allowed to leave school on permit before completing eight years, provided that they are over fourteen years of age and engage in an approved work-study arrangement or attend evening classes after work.

In addition to these preventative and compensatory services, the municipality supports a program of social and youth activities that complements the efforts to narrow cultural gaps in the community. Schools and community centers are the sites for a number of clubs and special projects, some of which focus upon special interests (clubs for various athletic, intellectual, and recreational activities). Others are calculated to support important social services both for those that perform the activities and for those who may be the recipients. For example, in the "Youth to Youth" program, the accent is upon language skills and general knowledge instruction in distressed areas. Adolescents are encouraged to

volunteer their services in a "big brother program," as tutors to younger pupils, as youth leaders, and as volunteers to visit hospitals, bereaved families, and other needy homes, especially those of non-European families. They may help new arrivals deal with routines that are strange to them, such as transactions with government agencies or other public institutions and with filling out forms, or they may provide useful information. In these ways, the volunteers assist in the process of improving the quality of living in general as well as providing specific forms of educational support. At the same time, by their participation, it is hoped that they will narrow the cultural gulf that exists between different groups in society.

Integration of all sectors of society into full participation in national life is thus considered to be a priority of the school system that must be effected through many means at every level possible: parent and community education, as well as schooling for the young; health, nutrition, and social education, as well as the standard curricula of elementary and secondary schooling; education by teachers in the schools complemented by special support and compensatory efforts in schools and other agencies.[34]

In the context of Israeli society at large, educational conditions in Tel Aviv are not notably serious, though they are affected by the particular conditions of urban living. The municipality contains only about 16 percent of all Israel's urban "distressed youth," that is, youngsters requiring special help due to their social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.[35] It is comparatively well supplied with various support services, using guidance, psychological, and medical services in the primary schools and student clubs at higher rates than other administrative districts in the nation.[36] Furthermore, over recent years, the success rates of African/Asian children in Tel Aviv have improved quantitatively: increasing numbers complete postelementary schooling and go on to secondary school, more and more matriculating to qualify for higher education.[37] Yet notwithstanding the efforts made, the problems of underachieving youth persists: low socioeconomic status and culture differences of the Sephardic group retard the school achievement of their children which in turn maintains the cycle of social and cultural separation.

One of the serious obstacles to further improvement may have to do with the teacher cadre and the pressures it suffers from the persistent inflation of Israel's economy. There is no serious shortage of teachers in Tel Aviv -- like Jerusalem it has a higher percentage of staff with good credentials than other less urban districts. However, teachers are poorly paid[38] and rarely depend upon their salaries from one teaching position for their total livelihood. It is customary for teachers to hold additional employment (sometimes two other jobs), or to study part-time for higher qualifications. Teachers are thus, in fact, often part-time and frequently leave teaching for other occupations.

The mobility of teachers is mirrored by the mobility of students. A special unit in the municipal education department monitors demographic changes in order to plan appropriate school policies. During the past five years, 25 elementary school institutions in various neighborhoods of Tel Aviv were closed due to the drop in the number of students.

In the report from which much of the above data have been culled, a Talmudic saying is quoted as preface to comments on major educational policy: "Take heed of the children of the poor, for it is from them that 'Torah' (knowledge or learning) will spring." This saying introduces highlights from Tel Aviv's efforts to deal with the educational problems of its disadvantaged: parent education, summer clubs, community centers and the whole range of school and school-related efforts reviewed above. The Talmudic injunction derives from traditional religious morality. But in the case of Tel Aviv, it is not just social justice that requires its observance. National unity and survival mandates it.

Tokyo

Probably the largest population concentration in the world, Tokyo contains many contradictory elements. The noise and congestion of the commercial center contrasts with the relative peace and quiet of the suburbs. In the business areas, western-style office buildings and hotels dominate the scene; elsewhere in the older residential areas, low houses built of wood and paper still await replacement by modern apartment blocks. A tidal wave of office workers sweeps in each morning and recedes each night, leaving the city to its residents, to shoppers, and to those in search of entertainment and pleasure. Tokyo is a city under reconstruction and modernization, taking on a westernized look and using all the resources of modern technology to cope with the needs of a busy, productive world city.

Like many other great cities during the past twenty-five years, Tokyo has passed the peak of its population growth rate. It may have reached saturation point. City planning is now directed at controlling further population growth and urban sprawl, while curbing the dwindling of the central area's residential population. Tokyo suffers above all from shortage of space, especially land for public purposes. Former rapid expansion and lack of planning control now make it difficult for the government of Tokyo to afford the high cost of real estate for public housing, parks, playgrounds, and other space necessary to improve the conditions of living. The signs of growth and wealth are many, not only the buildings and the well-stocked stores, but also the cars on the freeways and the places of entertainment crowded with well-dressed people. There is unprecendented prosperity in Tokyo. But the needy have been neglected; air and water pollution are problems; and public services from housing to transportation, from medical and welfare provision to education, are all inadequate for the people and their rising expectations.

As a result of the unprecedented growth in Japan's economy during the 1950s, a large proportion of the nation's economic activities was drawn to Tokyo which now contains, it is estimated, over a quarter of the nation's manufacturing and retail trades. Capital and industry are indiscriminately concentrated in the metropolitan region, a place where management and decision making in government, finance, services, and communications are all centralized. Small business, where it survives, is severely threatened. Young people flock to Tokyo seeking employment and advancement, or education and training, and many find lifetime jobs there. As they marry and start families, they move to the suburbs in search of affordable housing and better living conditions.[39] The relatively few who are unable to make this step of upward and outward mobility remain in the central city as residents, occupying the more rundown, crowded enclaves of poor housing. The age structure of residents in the central and older portions of the city is changing in the direction of an older population.

The price paid for Tokyo's progress and success is seen in the astronomical rise in the cost of living and the difficulties of the municipal government in maintaining and improving services. Public enterprises, such as transportation, run at a deficit and provide less than adequate services. City government borrows money but still cannot finance all the necessary work. Though Tokyo contributes nearly one-quarter of the nation's entire tax collection, poor conditions in some of the neglected, peripheral areas of the metropolis (Santama and the Island Districts) persist -- inadequate roads, higher accident rates, deficient sewage and other services, run-down school buildings.

Centralism in national government is mirrored in the administration of Tokyo. Proposals for reform some years ago included strengthening the city's autonomy from central government, redeploying and reducing the number of city workers, all in an effort to improve the morale and efficiency of employees and to decentralize and humanize the bureaucracy.[40] Subsequent annual reports of the Metropolitan Tokyo Government have revealed the persistence of the same problems, the apparently intractable nature of metropolitan power politics and policy implementation. Planning priorities are regularly enunciated after a careful study; some implementation is apparent. But the metropolitan government's success in arresting deterioration has been limited in the face of persistent growth and the difficulties of putting development on a sound financial basis.

The situation of Tokyo's schools is part of the larger urban context. It is the biggest school system of any city in the world, still growing at a rapid rate (Table 6). Though it is no longer necessary to hold double sessions where teachers give certain lessons to two different groups of students daily, there is still a shortage of classrooms. Recreational space is seriously limited.

Table 6: Public Schools and Pupils in Tokyo, 1972-77

	1972	1973	1975	1977
Kindergarten				
No. of schools	227	245	269	284
pupils	25,246	27,950	31,154	34,139
Primary				
No. of schools	1,175	1,206	1,256	1,311
pupils	901,638	911,152	959,932	991,773
Junior High				
No. of schools	523	530	546	576
pupils	341,531	353,299	370,841	400,541
Senior High (Full-time)				
No. of schools	158	161	169	181
pupils	150,465	151,474	158,770	170,540
Special Education (Blind, deaf, handicapped)				
No. of schools	29	32	36	40
pupils	4,341	4,581	5,134	5,690
Total (Including technical and SHS part-time)				
No. of schools	2,119	2,179	2,395	2,511
pupils	1,452,787	1,473,547	1,547,691	1,621,948

SOURCE: An Administrative Perspective of Tokyo. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Government. (Annual)

The noise level is, according to some observers, intolerable. Teacher turnover is about 20 percent per annum. Public expenditures per pupil continue to rise and remain considerably higher in Tokyo than in the rest of the country -- in 1975, it was 18 percent above the national mean for elementary pupils, 35 percent for junior high school pupils, and 21 percent for senior high school pupils. And the demand for education continues to grow.

The national objective of providing at least nine years of full-time schooling for all has been achieved. Now the pressure is on extension into the upper secondary school sector and, to a considerable though lesser degree, into preschooling. All over Japan, the proportion of Junior High School graduates desiring Senior High schooling has been rising. In Tokyo, the trend is more marked than elsewhere, appearing to be some seven or eight years ahead of the national average:

Percentage of JHS Graduates Continuing on to Full-time SHS

	National Mean	Tokyo Mean
1958	n.a.	73.8 (Public + Private)
1968	n.a.	90.3
1975	91.9	96.6

SOURCE: Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1977. Tokyo: Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, 1977.

The combination of crowding and competition for limited space in the public senior high schools accounts for the fact that roughly one-third of the graduates from public JHS continue to private SHS. About a quarter of Tokyo's SHS students go to private institutions even though tuition costs are greater. Moreover, even though some private schools have very high educational standards, learning conditions are generally poorer in most private schools, with greater crowding, less adequate materials and personnel. But the social and economic premium on completing upper secondary schooling is very high, and parents and students tolerate great financial and educational pressure in order to achieve it: in 1978, tuition fees in public senior high schools were increased by two and a half times (from 1800 to 4500 yen). However, this is unlikely to have much effect on public demand for upper secondary schooling, on the greater expense of private schooling (mainly for those who cannot qualify for the public schools), or on balancing the educational budget.

Private facilities are also important in meeting the demand for schooling at the lower rungs of the educational ladder. The city offers two kinds of preschooling facility: low-cost day nursery schools, run by the Welfare Department for children of

families where both parents are working or where there is special economic need or some other family problem; and kindergartens, run by the Board of Education, where the fees are rather high. Differences between the two types of institutions appear to be mainly of cost and clientele since classroom activities are very similar, and there is a current move at the national level to unify public nursery schools and kindergartens. Public policy in Tokyo has been to foster the former and thus publicly supported kindergartens are to be found only in certain areas. About 72 percent of five-year-olds attend kindergarten, the majority being privately run (about 20 percent are public). All together, about 80 percent of this age group now receives preschool education, testifying both to the importance of private schools at this level and to the importance for parents of "getting a good start," that is, preparing their children for the pressures to achieve at the next level of schooling.

By all accounts, the pressure of numbers and the effects of population mobility in and around Tokyo are unlikely to change in the near future. Public schooling is not expected to become substantially more available for pre- and postcompulsory levels, and private schools will therefore continue to make up for the gap between demand and supply. Though the number of Tokyo's primary school children is expected to reach a peak in 1979, numbers in the lower secondary level will continue to increase until 1982. Given the financial straits of the metropolitan government, it is unlikely that the estimated 40 additional primary schools and 70 lower secondary schools will be provided. Still, the education budget for 1976 was 10 percent above that of the previous year even though the total budget was only 8.7 percent higher, signaling the continued high priority given to this sector of public service.[41]

Migration of young families with means to the suburbs places urgent pressure on those communities to provide more schools. But though parental demand is strong, public monies are limited. In many cases, the newly arrived city workers have just begun to find financial stability and advancement, have undergone substantial financial commitments in the course of their move, and are unable to bear an increase in local taxation. On the other hand, the decline in the youthful population of central city is accompanied by underutilized school buildings in those areas. Though the city tends to divert these in time to other uses, such buildings, often among the older edifices, become neglected as the pupil population decreases. In many cases, too, central city schools are attended by the children of less ambitious, less successful workers who have lower aspirations and less education themselves. Truancy rates tend to be high, parental neglect may be serious, and student success rates are lower.[42] However, teachers do not appear to shun particular schools or downtown sections because of especially

difficult working situations; in fact an assignment to a downtown, central city school is often welcomed. Teacher choice is of course limited in this centralized school administration. However, the system's uniformity ensures standard rates of pay and the same curriculum, methods, standards, and procedures no matter where one teaches. The first concern is to work in a school that is easily accessible and not too far from one's home. But there is also a preference for teaching close to the centers of culture and entertainment, that is, in the central city. Like other occupational groups requiring advanced education before receiving credentials, teachers have undergone constant competition and achieved academic success. They tend generally to enjoy relatively high self-esteem and status, and teaching in Tokyo is considered a good post.

The school problems of Tokyo are those associated with pressures to expand in the face of unremitting demand for secondary and higher education. Its problems with educational underachievers, or with marginal, substandard communities are relatively slight. Tokyo's immigrants come from other parts of the highly unified and centralized nation, where educational and other institutions and practices are uniform. Cultural differences are therefore less severe between those communities, schools, or student groups that exhibit low achievement, high truancy and drop-out rates, and the others, where competition for good results and school places is intense. Unlike many other large cities, minority groups in Tokyo are not differentiated by race or culture, merely by economic/occupational status. In school affairs, their special problems are largely obscured by the system's desire to meet the demands of national educational policy and the more audible desire on the part of the many for more space and improved conditions for their children.

A public opinion survey taken in Tokyo about ten years ago found that most people considered the city to be an acceptable though difficult place to work. However, it was, they thought, a poor environment for children and for retired people. This current review suggests that, for the most part, their views continue to be well based.

Toronto

An exceptionally rapid rate of growth over the past twenty-five years has made Toronto the largest population concentration in Canada, the leading commercial and industrial center for the nation and headquarters of federal banking interests and stock transactions. Not long ago, Toronto was regarded as a rather dull and barren provincial city. It is now a large metropolis with outstanding cultural, educational, and recreational facilities. As the Wall Street Journal observed in a feature article in 1974: "Until a decade or so ago, a pleasant weekend for many Torontonians largely consisted of getting out of town. That Buffalo was. . . a favorite destination tells something of their plight." Today,

people flock to the city, attracted by the streets and sights, stores, outdoor recreation areas, as well as the internationally renowned ballet, music, and theater.

The physical and economic growth of Toronto has been due in large part to immigration. Though fluctuating somewhat, immigration since 1950 has been high,[43] with over 50 percent heading for the province of Ontario, particularly its urban concentrations. New arrivals originated from every corner of the world: the largest single source continued to be the United Kingdon, though large numbers came from Mediterranean Europe, from Asia (mainly Hong Kong, India, the Philippines), and from North and Central America (mainly the United States, Jamaica, and Trinidad). The city's population composition has therefore changed rapidly: for example, in 1951, 74 percent were of British origin and 4 percent Italian; in 1971, 41 percent were British while 28 percent were Italian. Toronto is now a cosmopolitan city of many cultures, languages, and styles.

Because of the rapid rate of expansion, settlement patterns have been fluid and mobile. Immigrants tended to move into certain neighborhoods according to the familiar pattern, occupying older downtown sections of cheaper, poorer housing traditionally filled by new arrivals. However, they did not form exclusive ghettos on the pattern of many other cities, and settlement appears to have been far less rigid than elsewhere. Some observers have suggested that as the period of rapid immigration and city growth ends, enclaving by place of origin and even by race may become more pronounced. In a highly laudatory article in Harper's Magazine (Dec. 1974), a reporter described Toronto as "a city that works," having successfully coped with growth, immigration, and urban development. There are fine buildings, thriving commerce, outstanding activity in the arts, and the streets are safe at night. But, the reporter suggests, the seeds of ethnic and class tensions are there. At least two out of three "New Canadians" are likely to be of working-class status and thus are concentrated in areas of cheaper (and therefore poorer) housing. Most are non-British.

As a consequence, the school system not only has had to contend with a rapidly growing population, but also with some 40 percent of students whose mother tongue is not English,25 percent of them born outside Canada. In ten years, the number of teachers and students in the metropolitan area more than doubled; in the City of Toronto itself, the number increased substantially, as did per capita pupil expenditures. The pressure of numbers has been easing in recent years in the city proper, and the elementary school population is beginning to decline as a result of lower immigration rates and movement of young families to the suburbs. A brief comparison of two elementary schools, one in the central city, the other in a middle-class residential area a few miles from downtown Toronto highlights a familiar pattern of big-city differences, even where the particular problem of a large number of foreign-born pupils is absent.

At first glance, the differences appear to be less of substance, more of context. Both buildings are fairly new, both are well-maintained and equipped. One is surrounded by busy stores and office buildings, with little space for trees, play areas, or any future expansion of the school building itself. It is enveloped by traffic noises and bordered by crowded streets. The other is set in an area of tree-lined, broad streets, private homes with two-car garages, and local stores. The busy thoroughfares bypass the school, taking people to and from the city during rush hours and to the new community shopping centers. The environment is relatively quiet; there is room to spread out.

Inside the schools, too, the first impressions do not show any startling contrasts. Classrooms are rather similar wherever they occur, and contain similar ingredients, both animate and inanimate. One may sense some atmospheric differences in the corridors and the rooms: a certain sharpness in the teacher's voice and the student's response in one place; a stillness and calmness, an absence of tension, and a concentration upon their lessons by pupils in the classrooms of the second school. The first seems characterized by a climate of social control; the second appears more task-oriented, focused upon schoolwork.

The written evidence tends to confirm this impression. Standardized test results show that in the inner-city school, only 10 or 15 percent scored above grade level in comprehension and only about 5 percent in vocabulary skills. In the suburban school, about 35 percent scored above grade level in comprehension and about 50 percent in vocabulary.[44] In the first school, there were a number of special classes for slow learners; the second school instituted classes for gifted children. When they leave their respective schools for high school, the majority of graduates from the second school will qualify for college preparatory work, whereas their counterparts from the inner-city school are far more likely to enter vocational or technical courses or attend terminal classes at the secondary level, ceasing their formal schooling as soon as the law permits.

While the descriptions are impressionistic, they are in no way fictionalized. Furthermore, this inner-city school is by no means deprived or especially depressed economically or culturally. Most of the pupils are children of unskilled but nevertheless employable workers (drivers, waiters, porters, for example), mostly English-speaking and Canadian born. But the school does receive special resources for staff and supplies in recognition of the special condition of the background community: high incidence of families without fathers, considerable job insecurity, crowded living conditions, poor nutrition and health, and high mobility (about half the children transfer each year, mainly to other inner-city schools).

Apart from the special attention given to the needs of school children in downtown poorer areas, Toronto makes special provision for recent immigrants, the so-called "New Canadians," a group which frequently overlaps and is interspersed with the former. One major strategy is to teach English as a second language to non-English-speaking students as a transitional step to ease their adaptation to a regular classroom, fully conducted in English. This might be handled as part of the normal school day and contained within the regular class program or, alternatively, it could be held on a withdrawal basis. The purpose is to make students capable of functioning in the English-speaking classroom as quickly as possible and assisting their integration, as well as that of their families, into the mainstream. Special "reception classes" are established for the newest immigrants, and summer school programs are held, depending on the numbers present at a particular time and location. This has required selecting and training a special cadre of teachers, as well as other specialized personnel: interpreter-counselors, language and culture curriculum specialists. Day, evening, and summer classes are also held for adults, emphasizing language skills, and the education authorities have a special budget for special equipment, materials, and personnel for schools that have particular needs as a result of a concentration of recent immigrants. The Board of Education produces informational pamphlets and instructional materials in a number of foreign languages, including Greek, Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese.

The "New Canadian" policy and practices have not, however, been free from criticism. They have generally been based upon the idea that for the general social good and for the benefit of the immigrant, educational services should encourage the speediest acquisition of English and integration into the mainstream activities, both in and out of school. Some have taken a different view. While approving the integration view, they also seek to maintain cultural differences and to prevent the unique characteristics of the major immigrant groups from disappearing into the cultural melting pot. This position has been taken by some leaders within specific cultural minority groups and by others, not particularly associated with any one minority, who take a more pluralistic view of Canadian culture. As a result of years of debate and conflict around this point, some effort is being made to maintain cultural differences. Under the Heritages Language Program, any Board of Education may offer up to two and a half hours per week of instruction in a third language (other than English or French). City and Metro Toronto Boards offer such programs free after school hours if twenty-five or more students of one language group seek them.

Policy towards linguistic/cultural minorities has been a most vexing problem for Canada at large. It is by no means simply an educational issue, being at one time a political, social, and philosophical problem with deep historical roots in the nation. For two centuries, the official policy of bilingualism (English and

French) in public life and in schooling has been a compromise that ensured periods of apparent satisfaction, notably among the English-speaking majority. Recent events in Quebec suggest that the frustration and dissatisfaction of the French-Canadian majority of the Province may have long-reaching effects on national as well as local politics, and not only in educational matters. The idea of bilingualism (or biculturalism) has long been part of educational policy in eastern Canada, though economic and social realities have restricted its full implementation. Toronto is located in the predominantly English-speaking province of Ontario, which has not had the burden of reconciling itself with a large, politically active, French-speaking population, as its neighboring province Quebec has had to do. However, it is hardly surprising that educational and other leaders should have responded with some ambivalence to the hosts of World War II immigrants, retaining some sensitivity to past and present Anglo-French Canadian tensions and policies.[45] On the one hand, major efforts are made to integrate new immigrants into the mainstream of economic and social life as soon as possible. But at the same time, a contrary underlying theme is to be heard quietly concerned with maintaining the cultural identity of various immigrant groups.

Just as Toronto itself continues to be marked by expansion and flux, so too its educational system strives both to be responsive to new pressures and demands as well as to achieve greater stability and efficiency. There has recently been something of a "back-to-basics" movement in educational debate as poor performance in fundamental skill areas has become more evident. Nevertheless, the education authorities still continue to support a number of "alternative schools," established during the renaissance of progressive ideas during the past decade.

No discussion of schooling in Toronto would be complete without reference to the broader context of metropolitan government. The rapid growth of the city and the environmental concerns associated with such expansion have already been noted. As business and trade concentrate downtown, congestion increases, transportation problems grow, the downtown residential population declines, the suburbs expand. A number of small, independent communities on the periphery were engulfed by suburban sprawl and industrial expansion. Former political and administrative boundaries ceased to have much relationship to the realities of people living and working in the area, and to their needs for transportation, communication, sewage disposal, police, housing development, and the whole range of services and planning for the future that city governments must provide. In 1953, the City of Toronto joined with twelve outlying municipalities to form the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Further consolidation took place in 1967, into a federation of six boroughs. This restructuring of local government was a major effort to deal with new conditions: establishment of a two-tier Metropolitan Toronto system to consolidate and coordinate various functions, centralize some, and decentralize others.

Schooling is one of the functions shared between metropolitan and local governments. The six municipalities elect their own Boards of Education, each of which has its representatives on the Metropolitan Board of Education. Budgets are developed on a metro-wide basis, based on revenues from local taxation and from the provincial government. Day to day operations are run locally; many services are provided by the central (metropolitan) administration, though some care is taken to distribute these to local centers and avoid excessive centralization. One branch of the school system is centrally directed, though it is still executed for the most part by local boards in the regular schools -- the Special Education services for retarded children.

The arguments put forward in favor of the metropolitan reorganization, especially as they concerned school matters, were that by consolidation the demands of both efficiency and equity could be met. Money could be saved by enlarging units of local school government, larger jurisdictions could equalize and even enrich opportunities for all. Moreover, it was argued, school communities within the metropolitan unit would enjoy more local power, having a greater voice in a regional organization than in the former arrangement that required them to make their representations at the provincial government level.

After nearly twenty-five years' experience, it is still probably too early for Toronto to reach any judgment on its two-tier Metropolitan Government, especially as it has concerned school matters. It has coped with the pressure of numbers, though many find that public school standards are falling; it has instituted measures to deal with non-English-speaking immigrants, inadequate compensatory measures according to some obeservers, excessive indulgences according to others. It has developed outstanding provisions for special education and, in general, provides a modern, accessible school system for its young citizens. From the general criticisms currently voiced, however, the administrative system suffers from important inadequacies. Organizational growth has been accompanied by increased bureaucratization, by increases in costs due in part to an enlarged central administration, and by inefficiencies that are not quickly or easily corrected, also due to size. Local school board elections, instead of becoming a focus of more community involvement, have become marked by increasing apathy, and the system may have become less responsive to local and immediate needs, except at moments when a local issue may reach crisis proportions.

The problem of providing adequate and equal schooling to all has long plagued educators and politicians in Canada. Some provinces are better developed than others; rural areas are generally less adequately serviced than urban centers; sparsely settled regions continue to create special problems. The reputation of Toronto schooling, like that of the whole province,[46] has traditionally been high in Canada. But it is threatened by the pressures of

urban growth. The pressing educational problems is to ensure both adequacy and equity in schooling for downtowners and suburbanites, for the children of recent immigrants as well as for those who settled here earlier, and for the non-English-speaking. At a time when municipal governments were unable to respond adequately to Toronto's growing pains and pressures, metropolitan government appeared to be the answer to the city's needs, a systematic, rational alternative to administrative Balkanization and lack of planning. Its effectiveness will no doubt continue to be debated.

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

The background to educational events in large cities comprises, firstly, the demographic and other social facts: how many people; who they are (by age, place or culture of origin, by level of skill and type of occupation); where they settle; and at what rates they move. Secondly, it is shot through with a number of recurrent issues such as the trend and current state of the city's economy, its financial condition, and the powers of its government to devise and execute plans for maintaining and improving the quality of life of the citizens.

While the particular dimensions differ, all the large cities reviewed are undergoing similar trends: large as they are, they are steadily losing residents from the central parts of the city and even the closer suburban periphery as residential populations spill over into adjacent areas. Direct comparisons are not easy due to differences in the census definitions of the city and the various ways in which the administrative units do or do not fit the actual metropolitan boundaries. It seems clear, however, that the population decline is most evident in those cities that underwent rapid expansion some years back while, as might be expected, the more recently growing places are just beginning to feel the net outflow of residents.

This process has revealed dramatically the cultural and educational differences among subpopulations within large cities. In all the major cities a common educational problem has been to deal with the disproportionate number of the poor, recent immigrants, or otherwise marginal and "exceptional" students that make up their school populations. Since the cities are large and mobile, the exceptions are numerous enough to form important subpopulations that are highly visible. The cities are also at the forefront of social and political change and tension. Problems in the schools are not merely embedded in urban social life, but also reach down to the roots of national existence. Where the tensions between the "haves" and "have nots" are exacerbated by differences of culture, religion, or ethnicity, urban school problems touch on the very essence of a nation's life.

The national educational setting varies among the several cases reviewed here. In some of the instances, educational policy tends to be nationally determined, so that despite the importance of these major cities, national policy may dominate what goes on in Amsterdam, Tel Aviv, and Tokyo. In Toronto and New York, however, local education authorities have considerable freedom to determine their own practices though they are subject to certain limits set at the provincial or state level, respectively. The case of London is somewhere between these two, perhaps closer to the first category, with a national (ministerial) authority that nevertheless delegates considerable responsibility to the local authority in educational matters. Such differences are in no way associated with either urban or educational policy matters in particular; they are part of the historically founded national patterns of local administration, and current developments and changes, where they occur, are functions of the nation's ideology in these matters. But the differences in national administrative precedents may well affect perceptions of urban school issues and the capacity of urban education authorities to deal with them.[47]

An additional aspect of administrative policy should be mentioned as relevant background, that is, the variations in administrative structure of the cities. During the past years, several of the cities described have reformed local government in ways affecting educational administration. In three instances, London, Tokyo, and Toronto, the boundaries were considerably enlarged to conform to the expanding city and to make planning and implementation possible on a metropolitan basis. Two of these metropolitan governments and another city, New York, instituted internal reforms in school administration that maintained or created local or community levels of decision making within the larger units.

Finally, still within the realm of administration and policy determination in educational matters, it should be noted that, according to traditional sanctions, the bodies participating in educational decisions differ in their importance in various nations. In the Netherlands and Japan, the cadre of civil service educational professionals has enjoyed the major powers; in most countries, teachers advise and participate in pedagogical decisions; in some countries, parents or local community groups may have influence. In the more decentralized national administrations, the interplay among several interest groups is particularly important for educational issues at the local, metropolitan level, but this is far less so in nations with the precedent of a centralized administration in education.

While these and other variables can be described in a general way, it is not possible to generalize about how adequate a particular administrative arrangement may be to deal with urban school problems. For one thing, the number of administrative dimensions and the possible

participants in policy and implementation are large. Secondly, the differences among actual or perceived school problems are considerable. It is not easy, in the absence of far more reliable and comparable information, to weigh, for instance, the severity of a particular problem or the degree of success met by a system in combating it. The impression to be gained from this study, and it should be emphasized that it is no more than an impression, is that in New York and possibly London, school problems have caused great concern which have not eased during the past few years, while conditions in Tokyo, though worrysome, do not yet give cause for alarm. In Toronto, Amsterdam, and Tel Aviv, matters seem to be serious but not excessively so. Nevertheless, each of the cities described possesses its minority of the poor and recent arrivals who place an especially heavy burden on the community so that local education authorities are hard put to find the necessary resources and use them efficiently and effectively. For the school system, this problem contains many overlapping elements. Large groups of children do not respond as others do to the conventional instructional methods and materials; they are indifferent or even hostile toward the efforts of teachers; their performance is on the whole poor, socially and academically. In London, New York, Tel Aviv, and Toronto, the problem is especially complicated by the fact that this minority of youngsters contains a goodly proportion whose language and culture differs from that of the majority. Where the differences are racial, too, as in London and New York, notably, the distinctions are even more dramatic. Language, culture, and race serve as complicating and aggravating factors, and where intergroup conflict seeps into the schools from the surrounding community, the orderly practice of education becomes increasingly difficult.

The dimensions of the problem and the amount of stress it lays on the large-city school system also depend upon several quantitative aspects. First, there is the size of the minority: in New York, for example, "minority" children comprise the majority of public school students and dominate the populations of many schools. But the recency and rate of arrival of substantial numbers of families who are culturally or otherwise different is also a factor in the capacity of the city system to accommodate them. By these measures, certain cities, such as Amsterdam and Tokyo, appear to be relatively well off compared to others.

Notwithstanding the differences in conditions among the various cities, one approach dominates the attempts to improve the schools in these respects. Compensatory education is prevalent in the thinking of legislators, researchers, and teachers alike. Particular programs and techniques differ from place to place, but they are commonly inspired by the conviction that educational inadequacy is both cause and result, and that large, extra infusions of resources may make up for the deficiencies. At its most comprehensive, the remedy consists not only of more intensive, personalized approaches to learners and specialized instruction in

selected curriculum areas, but also of a wide range of physical and psychological support services both for students and their families.

Though the compensatory approach dominates the efforts of large-city school systems to improve the lot of their deprived and marginal students -- and many of the same measures are utilized in different countries -- policies and practices toward cultural minorities remain problematic. Educational systems face two similar dilemmas in determining their general strategies: uniformity versus variety among their schools and the way they operate; and integration versus pluralism in their basic approaches to various subpopulations in the school community. In the first instance, the problem consists of how far standard practices should be amended in order to accommodate those who do not respond to them adequately. There may be no hesitance in developing new teaching methods, instructional materials, or modes of organizing the school day. However, there are special difficulties associated with adopting new criteria of achievement, especially when they relate to important points of transition at the end of schooling: entrance to higher education, for example, or passage into full-time employment. Departure from a single set of fairly uniform practices may be welcome in theory as a liberalizing trend in school practice. But its broader ramifications, often unexpected, create real problems that society has difficulty in facing.

In their approach to large groups of recent immigrants, or to native subpopulations that are linguistically, culturally, or ethnically different, policy makers are also caught between two opposing principles. Schools have traditionally functioned as a major tool of national unity and social cohesion, teaching different groups in society a set of common loyalties and attitudes, providing the range of skills and aspirations that the economic and political system needs for its continuance. Thus they have worked to achieve variety within some degree of uniformity, and have sought pluralism and differentiation within an integrated system. The degrees of difference that a society tolerates or even encourages depend on many factors, including its political ideology, its economic development and its national security. It is only recently, in some societies and in some great cities, that the desire to integrate minorities of various kinds into the mainstream and to reduce their cultural uniqueness has been challenged by a move to retain some of the differences. Black (or other ethnic) studies in New York and London, and the Heritages Program in Toronto are not merely pedagogical devices to enhance learning through support of cultural pride; they also challenge traditional social values and national ideology with a newly pluralistic approach to culture. It is in the major cities, containing large subpopulations of the culturally different that the struggle between these two conflicting philosophies takes place.

Given the characteristics of large cities, then it is hardly surprising that their school systems have a number of special problems to deal with. While all schools face the challenge of variety in their populations, urban schools confront a greater range of

variety on more criteria of difference, in greater numbers. The size, density. and variability of urban school populations, combined with the tendency to gather in rather homogeneous communities, are the sources of tension and paradox as well as specialization and excellence. For example, big-city school systems are better able than smaller organizations to provide special services, such as extensive facilities for preschool youngsters and for physically or otherwise handicapped pupils. They can, and usually do, enrich the education of their intellectually or artistically talented by drawing on the cultural wealth nearby, outside the school doors. They usually contain some of their nation's most outstanding schools, and their students achieve some of the best results. But large systems are prone to bureaucratization and standardization. The very features that empower large metropolitan school systems to cater to their several kinds of special school populations also serve to make them monolithic and slow to respond to new pressures and needs. So long as the city system is part of a unitary, nationally centralized approach to educational services, this may matter less. But where there is some degree of local autonomy and where different interest groups are able to exert conflicting pressures upon school decision making, the system may well become dysfunctional in many respects.

One of the outcomes of urban social patterning is not simply the decline in average pupil performance and the rise in truancy and indiscipline, but rather the appearance of bimodal distributions of academic achievement and other school-related phenomena. In the cases of Toronto, London, and New York, where standardized test results are easily available, the differences between schools or communities appear to be widening, as some maintain relatively high levels of average performance while others demonstrate uniformly low levels. Schools in the cities continue to produce some of the best results as well as an increasing number of poor results; and there is often a decline in middle levels of performance. As the cities become places for the successful and the failures, for the rich and the very poor, for the most talented and capable and for the least employable, for the strivers and for those who have abandoned all ambition, the schools, like the city itself, reveal some of the very best and some of the worst. Increase in the distributions at the lower end not only lowers the city averages, it also drives out the middle classes. No better measure exists of the quality, health, and integration of a large city than the performance and outcomes of its school system.

The mobility of urban populations serves as a key to understanding some of the confused and often paradoxical elements involved. An appropriate institutional response to high rates of mobility might be to ensure the greatest possible degree of standardization in pupil evaluation and record keeping and in teacher methods and curriculum so that transfer between schools creates the least confusion. Yet a good case can also be made

for the greatest degree of pluralism and flexibility in order to take into account the great extent of individual and intergroup variability. As for teachers in the large city, they too tend to be marked by a number of special characteristics, some of which are not limited to the profession but common to young workers in many similar fields. Because of the drawing power of the metropolis, they tend to have better credentials than teachers elsewhere in other parts of the country. But turnover rates are generally high as, after a few years, they are drawn to other communities where the conditions of work and life are more to their taste, or to other occupations that the rich variety of metropolitan economic life makes available to them.

Just as it is necessary to look at urban educational phenomena against the background of social conditions that are peculiarly urban, so too is it necessary to set them in the context of larger, nationwide educational considerations. The rise of urban school problems has tended to coincide with national movements to reform the total educational system. This trend has been especially marked in the European nations where educational policy since World War II has been concerned with making secondary schooling more appropriate and accessible to the majority of the adolescent population. The purpose was to eliminate the self-perpetuating, socially discriminatory nature of postprimary schooling and to redesign the educational system so that it would better suit the requirements of a modern, technological, democratic society. New structures, such as the nonselective comprehensive or middle schools, and new curricula were developed in the attempt to reduce the selectivity and predominantly academic nature of secondary schools. This socially reformist ideology could not ignore the widespread inequalities revealed in urban societies, and, as has happened in the past, the cities are the first fronts on which the battles for modernization and social egalitarianism are being fought.

Lack of systematic comparative study of curriculum reform makes it difficult to generalize about the relationship of instructional content and the social environment. The title of an exhibition recently held in Paris was "The Child and the City."[48] The sounds and images presented repeated the same theme: the nature of city life is hostile to that of the growing child. The city, so the exhibit's message goes, is speeding traffic, furious industry, haste and impatience, criminality and immorality on the streets. Children must be protected from these forces and, like the elderly, are restricted to special areas and institutions, excluded, hidden away in corners and side streets. Perhaps because they are relatively few, children in the city are too precious to be exposed to its dangers, experiencing the nature of urban living only as they peer through (or break through) the restrictions imposed by adults.

A quick glance at school buildings in the center of large cities may well support this conception. Often they are old buildings standing like fortresses against incursions from their surroundings, symbolizing by their very form their dissociation from the

environment. In contrast, schools in the outer reaches of cities are often carefully designed to attract, to incorporate outside space with interior and exterior form. But not only in their physical symbolism do urban schools convey a message of separation. Their curricula rarely take cognizance of the special nature of urban living. Trips to museums and artistic events are by no means uncommon, but it is a recent and still fairly rare development to find city scenes in early reading materials (rather than scenes more reminiscent of rural or small town life) or urban themes reflected in the social studies curricula of secondary schools. Notwithstanding the educational progressivism of recent decades, the city is rarely used as an educational environment. The modest exceptions stand out: an urban "school without walls" program in New York, inspired by the Philadelphia example, and pupils studying their own community in Amsterdam and in London.[49] Ethnic studies in London and New York schools and bicultural instruction in Toronto and New York are also curriculum adaptations to the social realities of urban life, though the political and ideological underpinnings are broader and more profound than merely urban considerations. In general, however, even where there may be moves to modernize curriculum and to bring it closer to the pupil's reality, direct involvement with the city is rarely a part of deliberate urban schooling. Practices generally continue to suggest that school is a shelter from the life around, and incursions from the outside are threats to the schools' mode of life.

Much of the more authoritative large-scale research has revealed that differences in school factors, teacher characteristics, and instructional methods have relatively little effect on variability of student achievement.[50] Smaller-scale studies of programs to improve performance in urban schools show that particular measures on a limited basis may have profound effects on individuals and groups, but that the lasting effects are limited. This has led some observers to conclude that school and teacher variations are of little account. Similar views are encouraged by awareness that the factors most likely to affect urban schools lie outside the realm of educational policy and often even beyond the powers of metropolitan planning authorities: the financial health of the city; its economy; the flow of people into, from, and around the city; and their settlement patterns. As a result, urban educators may develop a sense of helplessness as they face overwhelming problems while possessing minimal control over the circumstances. However, though the conclusions of such research may be well founded, the general inference that schooling makes no difference is quite untrue.

The basis for this assertion is simply that, under certain conditions, considerable changes can be effected for given student groups in both the short and long runs. For example, one city-wide study has suggested that while teacher characteristics do not correlate with student performance <u>on average</u> (that is, for all students

in the system), for particular groups there may be important effects.[51] Thus, while high or low achievers may be unaffected by differences, such as teacher characteristics or various school integration policies (the mixes of ability or of race), the students who are in the middle ranges of ability may be deeply affected. Furthermore, numerous small-scale studies of particular programs and schools reveal positive effects on particular students or in selected areas of educational outcome. However, the nature of such evaluative work is limited and rarely supports broad or long-term conclusions. The research base for knowledge about urban schooling in general is therefore somewhat sparse.

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, the advanced industrial nations struggled to extend educational opportunity to all their citizens through a system of universal, compulsory schooling at elementary levels. The twentieth century has seen the expansion of this movement through the secondary phase, accompanied by efforts to achieve greater equity in the distribution of educational resources throughout the various regions and classes of society. Most recently, the targets have also included attempts to achieve greater equity in educational outcomes, that is, to ensure that the effects and benefits of schooling are more evenly distributed among different regions and subgroups of society. Earlier efforts were especially concerned with improving education in remote and rural areas. But today's concerns in the more developed nations are increasingly focused upon the dramatic differences among urban students. Urban society is the new frontier where the unfinished business of modern educational ideas and practices is transacted.

Large cities have always fulfilled peculiar and important educational functions. As ports of entry for their nations, they have had the special task of helping society deal with an influx of culturally different groups, often unskilled and unschooled in the ways of the new environment. As centers of intensive and varied economic activity, they have specialized in the business of educational import and export, training and trading in high level skills, absorbing and redistributing ideas, attitudes, and practices. Large cities are unique in a number of respects, not the least of which is their function as educational marketplaces.

If this comparative survey has shown that urban school problems are widespread and similar across the developed nations of the world, it has also revealed that there are no quick solutions. School problems in large cities are but one facet of larger problems affecting their general quality of existence and are everywhere deeply rooted in the very nature of urban social conditions. Transportation, housing, employment, and the delivery of such social services as health and education are all bound up in one another, so

that decay in one area will erode conditions in another sector. Unfortunately, education has become the victim of its own rhetoric. At one time, it was argued that universal schooling could deal with all social inequities, that curriculum change could effectively reduce social evils, and that efforts made in schools could achieve widespread changes in attitudes and practices throughout society. Good schooling could even arrest urban decay and social tension. Even the most committed educators today would agree that such views were overoptimistic. They persist in the conviction that changes in school organization and educational practices are needed and that individual students can be "turned around" (the evidence to support this is considerable). But it is widely realized that without a comprehensive approach that includes housing, health, jobs, and civic order, educational efforts to reverse broad social trends, such as widespread urban deterioration, will be ineffective.

Much remains to be discovered, however, about the possibilities and limits of school effectiveness under various urban conditions. These pertain to immediate and pragmatic considerations of policy and practice, some of which may be illuminated by systematic cross-cultural and international comparative study. At the most elementary level, it would be informative to know the kinds and extent of school-related problems in large cities, and the various measures taken in different places to deal with them.[52] Such data gathering is, however, merely a first step toward explanatory study concerned with the effectiveness of particular measures to deal with certain kinds of educational problems under specific circumstances.

Two kinds of research need to be pursued at the same time. Studies of particular instances (programs and specific efforts, in individual places) are by no means uncommon and make valuable contributions to the knowledge of what exists, of the factors involved in urban school change, and of what might be achieved. But as a complement to such investigations, macro-studies of urban schooling, which have been almost entirely neglected, can perform a useful purpose. International, comparative studies increase the range of variables and possibilities that may be considered in a single-case or single-nation investigation. To the extent that they reduce the uniqueness of single cases, they increase the possibilities of making valid generalizations about the nature of the phenomena and the relationships among them. They thus possess the potential of making valuable contributions to knowledge about urban school dynamics.

One simple example of such a study would be a comparison of selected schools from several cities around the world that confront similar difficulties as a result of similar patterns of urban settlement. Whether in the poorer, more depressed sections of large cities, or in the more stable, better-endowed communities, there are always some schools whose success is above the

norm for their type of community and others whose achievements are under par. Such schools are "the exceptions to the rule," and, in large-scale studies, tend to be lost in the average results that are treated in city-wide or nationwide analyses. On the other hand, when studied individually, there is no valid way to generalize about conclusions. Comparative study of high achieving schools in disadvantaged settings is a means of providing firmer basis for generalization.

Along similar lines, international studies of recent migrants to the city (from rural areas, from abroad, from various foreign cultures), their responses to various types of schooling, and the responses of schools in different societies to their presence can provide useful information to educational practitioners as well as guidance to urban school policy makers and administrators.

However, in the urban setting as much as anywhere else, educational investigations cannot be limited to the school alone. A fundamental feature of urban life is the tension caused by variety, contrast, and mobility, affecting all spheres of existence. For schooling, this means the many conflicts among various educational influences in school, in the family, and enveloping both these institutions. The city is itself a powerful educational force, and the different lessons it purveys through its daily functioning mean many things to many people. The purpose of comparative study of school phenomena is to estimate what can reasonably be done for which populations under what circumstances and to fill the many gaps that now exist in a general model of the dynamics of urban schooling.

Appendix 1:

Primary School Teachers
and the Cost of Living in Major Cities

	Average net earnings after taxes and social service contributions*		Average number of teaching hours per week	Cost of living index+
	Dollars	% of gross earnings		
Amsterdam	9,324	71.2	25.5	72.4
London	5,387	66.7	27-35	62.1
New York	13,520	73.1	30	91.7
Tel Aviv	3,921	82.4	24-30	92.6
Tokyo	9,281	82.6	40≠	121.4
Toronto	14,266	77.7	32.5	87.5

SOURCE: Prices and Earnings Around the Globe: A Comparison of Purchasing Power in 41 Cities. Zurich: Union Bank of Switzerland, 1976.

*Public school teachers with 10 years experience, 35 years old, married, no children.

+Based on standard package of food, clothing, major appliances and transportation and other services but excluding rent. Zurich index = 100. Tokyo ranks highest; three more are over 100.

≠Includes time for preparation.

Appendix 2: Bibliographical Notes

1. The following general references to theory and research on large cities have been selected from a vast literature without any attempt to be representative. However, they cover the major approaches to the subject (history, politics, geography, economics, demography, sociology, planning) and will serve as a comprehensive introduction to the subject.

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2. As indicated in the text, sources of quantified data for international and intercity comparison of educational data are incomplete and not always easy to come by. The writer has relied upon the most recently available volumes of national and municipal statistical abstracts for the basic information on demographic trends and dimensions of school systems for the cities described here. The major sources for such foreign data are listed here by nation/city for the convenience of the reader. Unless otherwise stated, all are annual publications.

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FOOTNOTES

1. In view of the cases selected for this study, perhaps a better metaphor might be a "geography of education," not in the usual sense of physical objects and their spatial relationships but rather of social and other conditions in cities and how they relate to educational conditions.

2. Megalopolis, for example, is the term coined by the geographer, Jean Gottman, to describe the type of urban sprawl that characterizes the northeast shoreline of the United States. Stretching from Boston to Washington, it encompasses a major metropolitan region (New York), the two major cities north and south with their suburban sprawl, and all the towns, villages, and area in between.

3. In 1800, there were no cities as large as 1 million inhabitants. In 1900, there were eleven, and today there are about one hundred, sixty-eight of them with populations over 2 million. In 1800, under 2 percent of the world's population lived in urban areas of over 100,000 inhabitants; today, it is about 70 percent.

4. Marc H. Bornstein and Helen G. Bornstein. "The Pace of Life." Nature, Vol. 259, No. 5544, Feb. 1976, pp. 557-559. The authors studied walking rates of pedestrians in large and small communities in various parts of the world.

5. Albert J. Reiss Jr., ed. Louis Wirth on Cities and Social Life. Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1964, pp. 71-72.

6. The examples cited are all cities from the more developed countries of the world. Social and school phenomena associated with urbanization processes in the less developed nations of Africa, Asia, and South America may be similar in many respects, but are deemed sufficiently different to warrant separate treatment.

7. International Statistical Institute, International Statistical Yearbook of Large Towns, Vol. 6, 1972. The Hague: I.S.I., 1974, and United Nations, Demographic Yearbook 1976. New York: United Nations, 1977.

8. Max A. Eckstein and Harold J. Noah, Metropolitanism and Education: Teachers and Schools in Amsterdam, London, Paris and New York. New York: Institute of Philosophy and Politics of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973, pp. 7, 16-17, 25.

9. Many years of religious strife and intense political tension lie behind the present structure of Netherlands' school system. Amsterdam possesses what are in fact three parallel school systems, all financed by public money and all subject to general national policy: Protestant, Catholic, and "free," that is, nondenominational.

10. 1975 Annual Abstract of Greater London Statistics. London: Greater London Council, 1977, and earlier volumes of this annual.

11. Official statistics on immigration from these countries are not altogether adequate. It is estimated that in 1973, the last year for which such school statistics were collected, over half of the West Indian pupils in England and Wales were to be found in the schools of Inner London, two boroughs in Outer London, and Birmingham. Nearly one-third of Asian immigrants reside in Greater London (Central Statistical Office, Social Trends, No. 5, 1974). See, also, Table 2.

12. This is not exactly new for London which, like New York and many great cities, has at various times been host to waves of immigrants who tended to settle in immigrant communities. In earlier periods, for example, east London near the dock area was, like the Lower East Side of New York, East European Jewish; and other sections were visibly dominated by Greeks and Cypriots, the Irish, or refugees from central Europe. What makes the recent phenomena different, however, is the scale of migration, the degree of homogeneous settlement patterns, and the newcomers' visibility due to color difference.

13. The ILEA region covers roughly the same area as the former County of London: the inner city boroughs with high concentrations of business, commerce, other areas of industry, as well as predominantly residential sections in a radius of 10 to 15 miles from the center.

14. In 1969, before the school-leaving age was raised to sixteen, over one-third of ILEA secondary students stayed on for an additional year beyond compulsory schooling (age fifteen), and about 18 percent of seventeen-year-olds remained; the figures for England and Wales were 30 and 16 percent, respectively. In 1976, 24 percent of GLC students, aged seventeen, remained at school beyond the statutory leaving age, whereas the average for England and Wales was 18.6 percent. (Dept. of Education and Science, Statistics of Education: 1976 Schools. London: HMSO, 1977.)

15. In the GLC area, 12.4 percent of full-time primary teachers and 45.7 percent of secondary teachers were graduates, while the figures for England and Wales were 8.1 and 41.3 percent. (Dept. of Education and Science, Statistics of Education: 1975 Teachers.) The proportion of teachers under thirty years of age in ILEA is estimated as some 10 percent higher than nationally, and about 25 to 30 percent leave their positions per year (18 percent nationally).

16. Times Educational Supplement (London), Jan. 27 and Feb. 10, 1978.

17. "Immigrant" includes those born outside the British Isles and children born in the United Kingdom to parents who immigrated after Jan. 1962. Since 1973, data on school population by immigrant or ethnic status have not been collected.

18. Inner London Education Authority, Research and Statistics Group, Literacy Survey. London: ILEA, 1974 (mimeo).

19. Michael Rutter, William Yule, and Michael Berger. "Children of West Indian Immigrants," New Society, March 14, 1974, pp. 630-633.

20. The ministerial report surveyed primary education, investigated pupil achievement in relation to social background, and made important recommendations concerned especially with schools and pupils whose performance was poor. (Dept. of Education and Science, Children and Their Primary Schools. London: HMSO, 1967.)

21. Memorandum by the Department of Education and Science on "The Education of Pupils and Students from Overseas," House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Session 1975-76, The West Indian Community: Minutes of Evidence, July 15, 1976. London: HMSO, 1976. p. 471.

22. New York Times, Jan. 14-21, 1974.

23. See, for example, Morton G. White and Lucia White. The Intellectual Versus the City. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

24. Originally designed for Spanish-dominant children, these programs were subsequently also instituted for groups of Chinese, Haitian, Italian, and Greek pupils.

25. Services include additional counselors, school-parent liaison personnel, and paraprofessional classroom aides.

26. This is despite the fact that it was a condition of many funded programs that systematic evaluation be conducted. In addition, many other studies have been made of various aspects of the changes. The New York State legislature has just approved a study of the effects of school decentralization upon school practices and performance (1978).

27. New York State, Statistical Yearbook 1977. Albany, N.Y.: New York State Division of the Budget, 1977, p. 212.

28. City School District of the City of New York, Pupil Reading Achievement in New York City. New York: Board of Education of the City of New York, Dec. 1977.

29. Diane Ravitch. The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973. New York: Basic Books, 1974, p. 310.

30. In 1975, the district of Tel Aviv (one of the six administrative units of Israel) contained 959,900 persons, some 27.5 percent of the nation's population. Earlier figures are: 907,200 in 1972 (28.8 percent) and 305,700 in 1948 (35.7 percent). (Statistical Abstract of Israel 1976. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1976.)

31. Secondary schooling also contains a technical/vocational track.

32. The older sections of Tel Aviv/Jaffa contain heavy concentrations of economically depressed, estimated to be 40 to 50 percent of the municipality's total population. Despite governmental policy to disperse such persons, particularly by developing new communities in sparsely settled areas of the land, there has been a steady flow from temporary and new settlements to the cities by citizens seeking jobs, better living conditions, greater opportunity. This has aggravated the associated problems of housing shortages and unemployment of the unskilled, and has increased the number of those with poor educational levels.

33. The Law requires attendance for at least eight years, to age fourteen, or, for those who start regular attendance late, until they complete the equivalent of eight years of elementary schooling.

34. Since much of the educational role of other agencies is national rather than local, they fall outside the scope of this paper. However, since their importance is great, affecting sectors of the population all over Israel, mention should at least be made of the educational activity of such institutions as: the Israeli armed forces, youth organizations, political agencies, trade unions. All of these provide specific training in various skills as well as general cultural education directed at youth and adults requiring special assistance.

35. Jack Habib, Children in Israel (Preliminary Report). Jerusalem: Henrietta Szold Institute, 1973 (Research Report No. 168). The new towns contain higher proportions of such youth.

36. Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1976. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1976. Table 24.

37. Education in Tel Aviv/Jaffa: Four Years, 1974-1977. Tel Aviv: Directorate of the Municipal Education Department, 1977, p. 12.

38. See Appendix 1.

39. This suburban migration is typically of parents in their thirties and early forties with two or three young children.

40. Sizing Up Tokyo. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 1969 (Publication No. 3), a summary of the 1969 White Paper on the administration of the metropolis.

41. "Outline of Fiscal 1976 Budget Plan." Tokyo Municipal News, Vol. 26, No. 3 (April 1976), pp. 1-4.

42. The municipality provides a number of welfare measures in such areas, including free school lunches, extended teacher-parent contacts, as well as standard social services for the poor, unskilled, the aged, and for broken families. Vocational education is encouraged at the middle-school level.

43. The peak was 282,000 in 1957, though immigration in the early 1960s and 1970s was about 100,000 per year. In 1975, 187,881 persons migrated to Canada.

44. Edgar Wright. Student's Background and Its Relationship to Class and Programme in School. Toronto: Research Department, Toronto Board of Education, 1970 (The "Every Student Survey").

45. Toronto elementary schools usually offer French language starting in the fifth grade; some schools provide "immersion programs" in the beginning years of schooling.

46. Ontario requires thirteen years of schooling for high school graduation, while other provinces require twelve. Ontario graduates usually received advanced standing on entering college.

47. A good case in point is Paris, which was originally to have been included in this survey but was omitted for lack of recent school-related data. It possesses all the relevant qualities of a world city, including declining central city population and ever-expanding metropolitan boundaries, large migration from other parts of France and abroad, and substantial North African and Asian minorities. It contains some of the best schools and the most outstanding school achievements in the nation. Yet within France's highly centralized system, where teacher recruitment, instructional methods, and student assessment are all highly standardized, it is widely assumed that Paris is little different from any other city. There is, in fact, growing concern about school conditions and the increase in poor achievers; and teachers are less attracted to certain areas of the city than formerly when an appointment in Paris represented the most desirable type of post. Yet educational

officials are usually unwilling to concede that urban social conditions create special problems in schooling, and they tend to deny that it may be necessary to variegate school practices in Paris in order to deal with them.

48. "La Ville et l'Enfant," exhibit held at Beaubourg, Paris, Nov. 1977-Feb. 1978. See "Des Inconnues dans la Cité," Le Monde de l'Education, 33, Nov. 1977, pp. 4 ff.

49. Environmental studies of this kind have long been a part of history and geography curricula in English schools.

50. That is, compared to such social factors as home background and parents' economic and educational status. See, for example, James S. Coleman et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966; and the series of international studies conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (the IEA Project).

51. Anita A. Summers and Barbara L. Wolfe. "Which School Resources Help Learning? Efficiency and Equity in Philadelphia Public Schools," Business Review, Feb. 1975.

52. Basic as such information is, it is not easy to acquire sufficient data directly comparable among cities, sometimes not even within the same nation. Comparative urban sociologists are still confronted with this problem when dealing with quantitative indicators.